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ABSTRACT

This document presents a particularly challenging unit that thrusts students into the new foreign policy frontier that has developed since the end of the Cold War. The unit contains background reading and foreign policy options. The first part of the background reading introduces students to the institutions and conceptual framework of the international community. In the second and third parts, students are given four historical and five current case studies to examine. Consideration of the case studies requires the highest levels of thinking from students. Not only are students asked to analyze the case studies individually, but they also are expected to draw lessons from each in developing a context for evaluating the overall U.S. role in international intervention. The four distinct policy directions, or options, at the core of the unit are designed to help students further clarify their thoughts in order to articulate their own views. Each option is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about the U.S. role in the world and the country's relationship with the United Nations. By exploring a spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the competing values and assumptions that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward intervening abroad in civil conflicts. The unit contains a lesson plan and student activities, supplementary documents for teachers, and suggested readings. (Author/DK)

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CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

# Keeping The Peace In An Age Of Conflict: Debating The U.S. Role

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ALTERNATIVES FOR PUBLIC DEBATE AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT

A project of the Center for Foreign Policy Development

Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project was established at the Center for Foreign Policy Development to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

The Center for Foreign Policy Development of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University is a non-profit research organization. Its mandate is to bring together scholars, policymakers, and the public in a search for policy choices that can lead to a consensus on U.S. national security and foreign policy.


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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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## Note to Teachers

Only a few hours after U.S. pilots had shot down four Bosnian Serb planes in February 1994, President Bill Clinton appeared before the media to play down the significance of the clash. According to the president, the incident was an almost perfunctory response to enforce the United Nation's precisely delineated no-fly zone over Bosnia. For many Americans, however, the encounter represented a milestone for U.S. foreign policy. Since the end of the Cold War, civil conflicts like the war in Bosnia have come to dominate the international spotlight. Increasingly, the United Nations and particularly the United States have been called upon to intervene in the world's hot spots. A new set of foreign policy questions has emerged that Americans have only just begun to consider.

*Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role* thrusts students into this new foreign policy frontier. The unit is particularly challenging. The first part of the background reading introduces students to the institutions and conceptual framework of the international community. In Parts II and III, students are given four historical and five current case studies to examine. Consideration of the case studies requires the highest levels of thinking from students. Not only are students asked to analyze the case studies individually, but they are expected to draw lessons from each in developing a context for evaluating the overall U.S. role in international intervention.

The four distinct policy directions, or options, at the core of the unit are designed to help students further clarify their thoughts in order to articulate their own views. Each option is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about the U.S. role in the world and our country's relationship with the United Nations. By exploring a spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the competing values and assumptions that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward intervening abroad in civil conflicts.

**Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan:** *Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role* includes a lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with a discussion of the concepts featured in Part I of the background reading. Day Two focuses attention on the forces that shaped the international community's role in conflict resolution during the Cold War. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. The lesson plan concludes with students developing their own options and applying their views to a hypothetical crisis.

Below is an outline of the lesson plan found on pages 33-35. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful. The "Student Text" (pages 1-32) contains the background reading and the four options. Student handouts follow the lesson plan. The lesson plan offered in *Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role* is a guide. To accommodate the unit's ambitious goals, many teachers may choose to spread the activities out over more than five days. Others will elect to reduce the reading load by eliminating some of the case studies. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

*Homework:* Read Part I of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part I"

**Day One:** The challenges of international intervention
*Homework:* Read Part II of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part II"

**Day Two:** Considering four historical case studies
*Homework:* Read Part III of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part III"

**Day Three:** The options before the National Security Council: organization and preparation
*Homework:* Complete preparations for the simulation

**Day Four:** The options before the National Security Council: debate and discussion
*Homework:* Read the four options, then complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five"

**Day Five:** Responding to a crisis
*Extra Challenge:* Write a letter based on individual options

# Part I: The International Community's Changing Role in Keeping the Peace

On the last day of February 1994, two American F-16 fighter jets shot down four Bosnian Serb planes over the war-torn country of Bosnia in the former Yugoslavia. The clash in the skies of Bosnia came less than five months after eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed in a firefight with Somali gunmen in the streets of Somalia's capital, Mogadishu.

Military action, of course, is nothing new for the United States. In this century, American troops have fought throughout the globe. As recently as 1991, the United States sent over half a million soldiers to the Persian Gulf to lead an international coalition against Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

U.S. involvement in Bosnia and Somalia, however, falls into a different category. Unlike the Persian Gulf region, which contains much of the world's oil reserves, neither Bosnia nor Somalia is home to vital natural resources. Nor is there concern that Bosnia and Somalia are breeding grounds for communism or another forceful ideology that presents a worldwide threat to U.S. interests. Finally, neither Bosnia nor Somalia is likely to give rise to a power-hungry dictator comparable to Adolf Hitler, who started World War II in a mad bid for world domination.

What, then, is at stake in Bosnia, Somalia, and other troubled areas? Americans have found this to be a difficult question to answer. During the four decades of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the purpose of U.S. foreign policy seemed clear. Our country's goal was to oppose the spread of communism — with force when necessary. The struggle against communist expansion drew the United States into the Korean War and the Vietnam War. U.S. leaders formed defense alliances with more than fifty countries to counter Soviet moves abroad.

When the Cold War died out in the late 1980s, the international system that had prevailed since World War II went with it. Without the two hostile superpowers squaring off in the international arena, new possibilities arose for international compromise and cooperation. For the first time since World War II, the United Nations (UN) was not paralyzed by division. After the late 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union (later Russia) worked together through the UN to resolve conflicts in areas where they had once shipped weapons to opposing forces.

At the same time, new conflicts — most often within states rather than between states — surfaced in the wake of the Cold War. Several ethnic conflicts on the fringes of the former Soviet Union and in the former Yugoslavia that had been smothered by the heavy hand of the communist system re-ignited as communism crumbled. Other areas, especially where borders had been drawn by the imperial powers of Europe, came to be seen as powder kegs of conflict. As the threat of nuclear war between the superpowers faded, small-scale civil wars and smoldering territorial disputes captured international attention.

Increasingly, the UN was given the responsibility for maintaining peace. As a result, UN peacekeeping efforts suddenly mushroomed. In 1987, the UN was directing five peacekeeping operations with 10,000 soldiers and an annual budget of $233 million. By early 1994, the UN's peacekeeping role had expanded to include seventeen operations involving 72,000 soldiers at a cost of $3.5 billion a year. The two biggest operations — in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia — were each supported by more than 25,000 troops.

### *Challenges facing the United States*

The UN itself does not have an army. Rather, the organization must rely on member countries to provide troops and financial support. No country is more important to UN peacekeeping efforts than the United States. The United States is capable of contributing highly trained soldiers with the latest weaponry to UN operations. Furthermore, Americans pay 30 percent of the bill for UN peacekeeping.

In recent years, the United States has increasingly turned to the UN as a vehicle for addressing international problems. Nonetheless, our country's relationship with the UN has become a critical issue of U.S. foreign policy. An even more significant question in terms of our country's purpose and identity concerns

the role the United States will play in resolving the world's many conflicts. As our country's struggle to define a policy in Bosnia and Somalia has shown, the choices are difficult.

> *CNN is not a compass for American interests. We cannot act on the urge, rooted as it is in good intentions, to respond to every crisis.*
>
> *—Anthony Lake, President Clinton's National Security Adviser*

In this unit, you will take part in the national debate on the U.S. role in international intervention. When, if ever, should the United States commit troops to advance the cause of peace? How do we balance our concern for human rights against the notion that states should be left alone to manage their own affairs? How can we use our diplomatic and economic influence to avoid the use of force? Should our country's policy toward intervening abroad be governed by a broad strategy, or should each case be weighed separately? Finally, should U.S. policies be in step with the decisions of the UN, or should we chart our own course?

The background reading has been designed to help you consider these and other questions. Part I reviews the growth and development of international organizations in the modern age and explains several key concepts. Part II examines four case studies of conflict that were played out against the backdrop of the Cold War. Part III explores five current conflicts of particular relevance to the United States.

## The International Community's Origins

The concept of an international community — or a community of nations — owes its beginnings to the emergence of nation-states in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Britain, France, and Spain were among the first states to unite a single nationality within their borders. In the late 1400s and 1500s, the early nation-states took the lead in exploring the Americas and mapping out new trade routes to Asia and Africa. As these nation-states grew in wealth and power, the unifying authority of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe weakened. Rather than thinking of themselves as belonging to Christendom, European leaders increasingly sought to promote the interests of their own nation-states.

The formation of nation-states prompted the rulers of Britain, France, Spain, and other countries to turn their attention to the problems of international relations. The greatest progress came as a result of war. The Thirty Years War of 1618-1648 was a critical turning point. The Thirty Years War was actually a series of wars that were mostly fought in what is now Germany. Divisions between Catholics and Protestants sparked the conflict and attracted armies from throughout Europe. The continent had never seen such devastation. Millions died from warfare and starvation as marauding armies laid waste to much of central Europe.

From the horrors of the Thirty Years War came a new international consensus in Europe. Warfare continued in the decades after 1648, but European leaders avoided inflaming the religious passions that had fed the barbarity of the Thirty Years War. The next large-scale war in Europe did not occur until the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte in France.

The Napoleonic Wars of 1796-1815 illustrated the deadly power of new military technologies and the tremendous resources at the disposal of modern states. Until the Napoleonic Wars, European countries had maintained small armies, often staffed by foreign mercenaries. Napoleon mobilized all of France and instilled a sense of patriotism in his troops. Like the Thirty Years War, Napoleon's quest to conquer Europe resulted in enormous destruction. When Napoleon was finally defeated in 1815, European statesmen again focused their energies on shaping an international system to prevent major wars in the future.

The 1815 Congress of Vienna that met at the end of the Napoleonic Wars laid the foundation for a century of comparative peace in Europe. The international system that prevailed from 1815 to 1914 was led by the great powers of the age, principally Britain, Germany,* France, Russia, Austria-Hungary,* and Italy.* The Concert of Europe, as the arrangement was known,

*The modern states of Germany and Italy were formed in 1870 and 1861, respectively. The arrangement to share power in the Austro-Hungarian empire was reached in 1867.

sponsored thirty international conferences. The emphasis on maintaining the balance of power in Europe set the tone of diplomacy during the era. As European countries extended their influence throughout the globe, the conferences of the Concert increasingly dominated international affairs. Peace treaties were finalized, the map of the Balkans was redrawn, Africa was divided up among European colonial empires, and a variety of other international matters was settled through the conferences.

The International Peace Conferences at the Hague in the Netherlands in 1899 and 1907 added a new dimension to the international system. The 1907 conference included forty-four states from Europe and the Americas. Farsighted participants spoke of one day bringing together all the countries of the world. At least in theory, small states and big states were put on equal footing. Furthermore, the Hague conferences generated support for establishing permanent institutions to settle disputes.

### *The League of Nations*

World War I swept away the self-confidence and optimism of Europe's statesmen. At the war's conclusion — after 10 million soldiers had died on the battlefield and at least 5 million civilians had perished from disease and starvation — many observers asserted that diplomatic miscalculation had triggered the conflict. They argued that a system of regular international conferences and clear procedures for conflict resolution would have prevented World War I.

President Woodrow Wilson shared the belief that a failure in the international system had led Europe into World War I. Even while the war was raging, Wilson drafted a plan for lasting world peace. In January 1918, he unveiled his fourteen-point proposal to reshape international relations. Central to Wilson's plan were the principles of self-determination, open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free trade, and arms limitation. To oversee the new international system, Wilson called for the creation of a permanent global organization — the League of Nations.

Wilson championed many of the 19th century's most noble ideals. He imagined that the post-war era would be characterized by the open publication of treaties and the settlement of disputes by impartial commissions. The League, in the hopes of Wilson, would serve as the "court of public opinion" in which the "conscience of the world" would make itself heard.

> *Nothing is going to keep this world fit to live in like exposing in public every crooked thing that is going on.*
>
> *—Woodrow Wilson*

Britain and France, the key allies of the United States in World War I, had little use for Wilson's idealism. Rather, they wanted the League of Nations to secure their victory in World War I. As the chairman of the special committee that drew up the blueprint of the League in 1919, Wilson worked hard to maintain unity among the Allies. His committee's final proposal for the organization of the League reflected British and French concerns.

On the one hand, President Wilson could claim that the League would expand on the progress of the International Peace Conferences at the Hague. According to Wilson's recommendations, all member states of the League would gather annually to discuss international issues. Meanwhile, a council of the world's great powers would meet more frequently and would deal with international crises. A secretary general would be named and granted a small staff to give the League institutional stability. In addition, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization would operate within the League's framework.

On the other hand, critics argued that the League was largely a tool of Britain and France. In the U.S. Senate, opponents of the League focused on the provision that required members to come to the defense of any member under attack. They raised the possibility that U.S. troops could be called upon to defend the borders of a French colony in Africa or to protect British imperial interests in India.

After the League of Nations treaty took effect in January 1920, the organization's structural flaws became more apparent. Enforcement of the League's ambitious covenant proved to be the biggest problem. Although League members pledged to cooperate in

stopping aggression, protecting the rights of minorities, and limiting armaments, there were no effective mechanisms to force them to honor the covenant. The requirement that all League members agree to important decisions often blocked action. Moreover, League membership was far from universal. The first blow came from the United States, when in 1920 the Senate defied Wilson and rejected U.S. participation in the League. Meanwhile, the British and French deliberately excluded other important countries from League membership. Germany, for example, was not allowed to join until 1926, while the Soviet Union was barred until 1934.

Confronted with its first major challenge in 1931, the League failed to stop a Japanese invasion of the Chinese province of Manchuria. Later in the 1930s, the League proved powerless in the face of Italian and German aggression. By the time World War II began, international statesmen had all but given up on the League of Nations.

## The United Nations

Like the League of Nations, the seeds for the creation of the United Nations were planted in the midst of a world war. And like the founders of the League, the framers of the UN Charter were determined not to repeat past mistakes.

The United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and China agreed in principle to create a new international organization in October 1943 — only a few months after the tide had turned in the war against Germany and Japan. (A "Declaration of the United Nations," drafted by the United States and Britain, had been signed by twenty-six countries allied against the Axis on January 1, 1942.) The four Allies that met in 1943, along with France, were largely responsible for the development of the UN's structure. In June 1945, they were among the fifty-five nations that signed the UN Charter in San Francisco.

The United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China became permanent members of the UN's Security Council, the new organization's executive body. The Security Council was given the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Each of the five permanent members of the Security Council held the right to veto UN decisions. The veto system was conceived as a safety valve that would allow the great powers to disagree without threatening the UN's existence. The framers of the UN recognized that the gulf between Soviet communism and the free-market democracies of the West (led by United States, Britain, and France) could not be bridged. Nonetheless, they hoped that the permanent members of the Security Council would share a common interest in maintaining global peace. The framers of the UN also understood that the support of every important country — including Germany and Japan — was essential to the organization's success.

Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter spelled out procedures for resolving conflict. Chapter VI outlined the role of the UN in the peaceful settlement of disputes, while chapter VII described the means for enforcing UN efforts to stop conflict and aggression. Under chapter VII, the Security Council had the authority to call upon UN members to cut their economic, transportation, communication, and diplomatic ties with an aggressive government. More significantly, chapter VII empowered the Security Council to take military action "to maintain or restore international peace and security" and called for UN members to make forces available to carry out the Security Council's decisions.

### *Cold War divisions*

By the late 1940s, the carefully laid plans of the UN's creators had been overwhelmed by the bitter divisions of the Cold War. Because of the veto system, U.S.-Soviet hostility often prevented the Security Council from making decisions. Voting in the UN's General Assembly generally followed the lines of Cold War alliances. Wherever key U.S. and Soviet interests clashed, there was little hope of applying UN mechanisms for conflict resolution.

Only five years after the formation of the UN, the United States and Soviet Union found themselves on opposite sides of the Korean War. With the approval of the Security Council, the United States led a UN force to resist communist North Korea's invasion of South Korea. (The Soviet Union was unable to use its

veto to block the Security Council's action. Six months earlier, the Soviets had temporarily withdrawn from the Security Council to protest the refusal of the United States and its allies to grant a UN seat to the new communist government in China.) Although Soviet troops did not enter the war, the Soviet Union openly supported the North Koreans.

The UN was more effective in dealing with disputes related to the breakup of European empires in Asia and Africa. The first UN operation was organized in 1948, when a small group of unarmed UN soldiers was sent to the Middle East to monitor a truce between Israel and its Arab neighbors. A few months later, a similar UN force was dispatched to take up positions between the Indian and Pakistani armies in the disputed territory of Kashmir. The Suez Crisis of 1956 resulted in the first use of armed troops for UN peacekeeping. The force was placed along the Egyptian-Israeli border after the United States and the Soviet Union joined in opposing a military operation by the British, French, and Israelis to take over the Suez Canal from Egypt.

Although peacekeeping was not specifically mentioned in the UN Charter, it soon became a vital part of the UN's activities. From 1948 to 1987, the UN undertook thirteen peacekeeping operations. Typically, they called for unarmed or lightly armed UN troops to monitor a cease-fire agreement and police a buffer zone separating two countries in conflict. UN peacekeeping troops took their positions only with the consent of the country or countries involved. As a rule, they entered after the shooting had stopped, maintained strict neutrality, and were permitted to use force only in self-defense.

### *Rethinking UN operations*

The end of the Cold War opened up new possibilities for the UN, especially in the sphere of conflict resolution. In some respects the clock was turned back to 1945. The organization was still torn by rivalries among the world's most powerful nations, but decision-making was no longer blocked by the gridlock of the Cold War. Conflicts that had raged during the 1980s in Afghanistan, Central America, and other hot spots were no longer seen as regional contests between the United States and the Soviet Union. In El Salvador, for example, outside support for both the pro-American government and the pro-communist rebels dried up when the Cold War ended. The two sides signed a UN-sponsored peace agreement in 1991.

At the same time, the world itself had irreversibly changed. By the early 1990s, UN membership had nearly quadrupled from when the charter was signed. Problems unknown in 1945, such as the thinning of the ozone layer, the spread of nuclear weapons, and AIDS, endangered the entire planet. The demands being placed on the UN were greater than ever.

Advocates of the UN urged leaders worldwide to fulfill the original goals of chapter VII of the UN Charter to protect international peace. The changing nature of conflict, however, led others to question the relevance of the UN's original vision. The UN Charter was written to resolve conflicts between states. The failure of the League of Nations to stop the aggression of Germany and Japan against their neighbors was still fresh in the minds of the UN's founders. In contrast, the conflicts that have appeared on the UN agenda in recent years do not fit the old model.

UN peacekeeping efforts today are expected to accomplish increasingly ambitious tasks. In Cambodia, for example, the United Nations has been called upon to oversee elections, sponsor peace talks among warring factions, resettle refugees, and rebuild state institutions such as the police force and army. In short, today the United Nations is often expected to pick up the pieces of a country that has fallen apart.

> *If the forces of chaos and confusion conclude that the UN is short of breath, they will prevail simply by waiting for the world to turn its attention elsewhere.*
>
> *—Boutros Boutros-Ghali,*
> *UN Secretary General*

Moreover, many of the conflicts raging today are fueled by free-wheeling militias that ignore government authority. When UN peacekeepers took up positions in 1948 in the Middle East and Kashmir, they could count on the discipline and order of the armies involved. In contrast, UN forces in Somalia found

Wayne Stayskal in the *Tampa Tribune*. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.

themselves caught in the crossfire among rival groups that showed little respect for negotiated agreements. Recent UN operations have often required UN troops to be peacemakers rather than peacekeepers. In Somalia and Bosnia, for example, UN troops were sent in to save lives while the bullets were still flying. They were expected to establish peace where no peace agreement existed. Rather than acting as a neutral party, UN troops in Somalia and Bosnia were instructed to punish forces that threatened peace.

## The U.S. Role

For most of its history, the United States did not play a leading role in the international community. On the contrary, the United States carefully avoided involvement in foreign conflicts. The Spanish-American War of 1898 marked a turning point. Spain's harsh attempts to crush an independence movement on the island of Cuba, a Spanish colony at the time, led Americans to recall their own country's struggle for independence against the British empire. In addition, the growing emphasis on naval power and the expansion of American trade overseas elevated the importance of Cuba and the entire Caribbean region in the eyes of U.S. policymakers. Motivated by a combination of values and interests, the United States decisively defeated Spain and gained control of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

In the early decades of the 20th century, the United States repeatedly intervened in the affairs of its neighbors in the Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico. In many countries, especially in Cuba, Haiti, and Nicaragua, American troops maintained almost a constant presence into the 1930s. While preserving order, the United States trained armies and police forces, built roads, and improved health care. U.S. policies in the region were driven primarily by a desire to ensure political stability and protect American business interests. At the same time, Americans hoped to transplant their democratic institutions and free-market economic system to the region.

During the Cold War, the strategy of containing Soviet communism guided U.S. involvement abroad. American leaders feared that the Soviets would fan the flames of conflict to gain influence in regions that were identified as vital to U.S. interests. Our country's most costly Cold War involvement — the Vietnam War — began as an effort to support the anti-communist South Vietnamese government's campaign to stop conflict in its country. In other areas of conflict, from southern Africa to Central America, the goals of the Cold War typically shaped U.S. policy. The American relationship with the UN was molded by the same forces. With the UN Security Council deadlocked by the Cold War, the United States often acted independently of the UN in addressing the world's conflicts.

Now that the Cold War is over, the foreign policy strategy that guided the United States for forty years has been put aside. In an age of unique challenges and opportunities, Americans are today being asked to define a new set of values and interests for determining our country's involvement abroad.

## Defining Terms

To appreciate the choices and tradeoffs our country faces in the area of international intervention, we first need to understand the concepts that have shaped the debate. The five terms below are a vital part of that discussion. As you will see, the meaning of each term has been recast by the events of recent years.

### *State sovereignty*

Sovereignty means freedom from external control. Traditionally, governments — whether they be headed by democratically elected officials or self-imposed dictators — have strongly defended the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty has served as the foundation of international organizations. Governments have supported the United Nations, the League of Nations, and earlier international efforts based on the assumption that their sovereignty would be protected. In practical terms, sovereignty has never been absolute. Strong countries have always influenced the policies of weaker countries. The United States, for example, has long had a hand in shaping the foreign policies and economic regulations of Latin American nations.

In recent decades, sovereign states have faced pressure from two levels. From above, the principle of sovereignty has been eroded by forces and institutions that extend beyond national boundaries. The growth of world trade, multinational corporations, and even international environmental organizations has forced governments to accept limits on their sovereignty. Brazil, for example, has taken steps to improve conditions for Indians in the Amazon region and to curb the destruction of the rainforest in part because of worldwide concern. Meanwhile, state sovereignty has increasingly been challenged from below by minority groups and regional interests. In Russia, for example, local leaders have pressed the central government for greater control over their economic affairs.

### *Territorial integrity*

Territorial integrity means that national borders should not be forcibly changed. Like state sovereignty, the notion of territorial integrity has been a mainstay of the international system since World War II. The framers of the UN Charter believed that territorial disputes had been a root cause of past wars. They felt that the territorial changes imposed by the peace settlements of World War I had fueled aggressive nationalism, giving rise to Adolf Hitler and another world war. Consequently, world leaders since 1945 have upheld the principle of territorial integrity as a means of maintaining peace and stability. During the Cold War, the only significant border change came when Bangladesh broke away from Pakistan in 1971.

While statesmen contend that support for territorial integrity has prevented the breakup of states and discouraged aggression, there is another side to the argument. The principle of territorial integrity, for example, has left much of Africa and Asia with borders drawn by Britain, France, and other European colonial powers in the 19th century. In many cases, the European officials responsible for the borders did not take into account local economic conditions or ethnic divisions. Africa, in particular, has been torn by conflicts that trace their origins in part to the refusal of African leaders to alter the colonial borders they inherited. The collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has likewise challenged the notion of territorial integrity. The Soviet Union, for instance, has broken up into fifteen states, while five countries have emerged from Yugoslavia. The borders of these new states often reflect the divide-and-rule strategies of communist leaders. Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, the ruler responsible for many of the current borders of the former Soviet Union, was mainly interested in strengthening the power of the central government in the periphery of his vast country. The borders that he helped draw within the Soviet Union often contributed to animosity among ethnic groups. Two border changes that have occurred since the end of the Cold War — the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia into two states in 1992 and Eritrea's achievement of independence from Ethiopia in 1993 — may be the beginning of a trend.

### *Self-determination*

Self-determination means the right of a people to govern its own affairs. During the 19th century, the cause of self-determination inspired small nations to challenge the rulers of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian,

and Ottoman Turkish empires. At the close of World War I, President Wilson declared that self-determination should be a guiding principle in drafting the peace settlements. As the experience of the 20th century has shown, however, self-determination often comes into conflict with the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Before World War II, for example, the campaign for self-determination by Germans in the Sudetenland of northwestern Czechoslovakia gave Hitler an excuse to demand territory from Czechoslovakia. During the Cold War, U.S. officials championed the self-determination of peoples under Soviet rule.

World leaders have often viewed self-determination struggles as a threat to peace and stability. With literally thousands of ethnic groups in the world, fully honoring the principle of self-determination could lead to the creation of thousands of countries. Moreover, self-determination for one group often results in discrimination against other groups. For these reasons, the international community has usually avoided intervention to stop even the most brutal measures to crush self-determination movements. In the case of Biafra, a region in eastern Nigeria seeking self-determination in the 1960s, little action was taken to halt the Nigerian government's war against civilians that resulted in as many as 1 million deaths. Likewise, Iraq's Saddam Hussein faced few repercussions after killing thousands of Kurds in northern Iraq with poison gas in 1988. Despite the international community's indifference, the cause of self-determination has continued to fuel conflicts throughout the world.

### *Minority rights*

Minority rights mean establishing a special set of laws to protect a minority group. Minority rights differ from individual rights in that they typically apply to an ethnic or religious community, not to individual citizens. Minority rights may allow a group to operate its own schools, promote its language and culture through the media, or take responsibility for the functions of local government. In Canada, for example, the French Canadians of Quebec province and the native peoples of the northern regions have been granted substantial powers of self-government.

In many other parts of the world, however, central governments have refused to concede rights to minority groups. Yugoslavia's Kosovo province, in which 90 percent of the people are Albanian, is an area where minority rights have been denied. The Serbian authorities who control the central government fear that giving minority rights to Kosovo's Albanians will encourage them to break away from Yugoslavia. Many outside observers, however, believe that granting minority communities local autonomy and group rights is needed to prevent conflict.

### *Conflict resolution*

Conflict resolution means the involvement of an outside party to bring peace to an area of conflict. Support for conflict resolution gathered momentum around the turn of the century with the International Peace Conferences at the Hague. President Wilson conceived of the League of Nations as a vehicle for resolving conflicts before they turned violent. During the Cold War, international conflict resolution was often hampered by U.S.-Soviet hostilities. Since the late 1980s, the prospects for conflict resolution have improved.

Approaches to conflict resolution generally fall into three broad categories, and are discussed in chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter. The first method involves diplomacy. An outside party, such as the UN, the United States, or Russia, may help arrange negotiations or offer itself as an impartial arbitrator. A peaceful settlement may lead to the introduction of peacekeeping forces by the outside party. The second method involves the use of sanctions intended to pressure an offending party to change its policies. Sanctions typically include economic embargoes, boycotts, and other trade restrictions aimed at crippling a country's military power. A country may also be barred from participation in international events, such as the Olympics. The third method relies on the threat or use of force. In Somalia, for example, U.S. troops took military action in order to force a local warlord to respect the decisions of the UN.

# Part II: Four Historical Case Studies

In Part I of the background reading, you learned how the methods and principles of conflict resolution have evolved in the modern age. As you read, the U.S.-Soviet rivalry poisoned the cooperative spirit of the UN Charter and greatly limited the international role in conflict resolution for four decades. In the following pages, you will explore a range of international responses to conflict during the Cold War.

## The Congo

The Congo, known today as the central African country of Zaire, was the scene of the UN's most ambitious peacekeeping operation up to the 1990s. From 1960 to 1964, a UN force was present to guide the Congo from Belgian colonial rule to independence. In the process, the UN was responsible for helping to establish basic governmental institutions for the new state. But it also got entangled in a violent ethnic conflict and Belgium's efforts to preserve its influence in the region.

The Congo operation marked the first time since the Korean War that the UN had authorized the use of force. Although the UN fulfilled its original mission, the root causes of the Congo's problems were not solved. Moreover, 195 peacekeepers were killed. The international community's experience in the Congo gave a bad name to the concepts of "peace enforcement" and "nation-building." The UN did not take on another mission of such scope and complexity until international forces were sent to Somalia in 1992.

Contacts between central Africa and Europe began as early as the 1480s, when Portuguese traders began to establish links with the Congo kingdom. The region, however, did not come under European domination until the late 1800s. At the time, the European competition for colonies in Africa drew the attention of King Leopold II of Belgium to the Congo. In 1884, the huge territory was recognized as the king's personal property. The Belgian colonial system was particularly ruthless. The local population, known as the Congolese, were forced to work as virtual slaves to exploit their homeland's rubber, ivory, and other natural resources.

While other European empires gradually came apart after World War II, Belgium resisted proposals for the Congo's independence. Educated Congolese themselves seized the initiative in the 1950s, forming political and self-help groups in the Congo's major cities. Most of these organizations were based on ethnic lines, thus contributing to divisions among the Congolese.

In 1959, riots broke out in the Congo's capital. Belgian authorities were taken largely by surprise. With little support within Belgium to intervene in the Congo, Belgian officials hastily opened talks on organizing elections and granting independence. The results of the May 1960 elections illustrated the Congo's deepening ethnic and political divisions. The victorious party, headed by Patrice Lumumba, favored cutting the country's ties with Belgium and the Western corporations that dominated the local economy.

In June 1960, the Belgians officially granted independence to the Congo. Within a week, Congolese soldiers mutinied against their Belgian officers. As the army crumbled, Belgians fled the country. Belgium responded by sending in troops. In turn, Lumumba's government called on the UN to intervene and force

Reprinted from *Crisis in the Congo*

the Belgians to withdraw. The UN responded quickly to the request, landing its first troops in July 1960. By September, the force included 16,000 soldiers from fourteen nations.

Overseeing the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo proved to be relatively easy. Much more serious was the country's fragmentation from within. UN troops were not prepared to cope with a nation that lacked a secure central government. The most damaging blow to the Congo's stability came when the mineral-rich province of Katanga seceded a few days before the arrival of UN troops. Katanga's decision was supported by Belgium, which had concentrated its business interests in the province.

Lumumba demanded UN action to help him restore the power of the central government. Frustrated by the UN's indecision, Lumumba appealed to the Soviet Union for support. He was soon overthrown and assassinated. New leaders quickly rose to stake a claim to power. With the Congo on the verge of complete disintegration, the UN in 1961 helped organize a series of conferences among the country's political factions. A settlement was reached and a new central government formed. Under UN pressure, the secessionist government in Katanga province came to terms in 1963.

In a narrow sense, the UN had accomplished its goals. The Belgian troops and foreign mercenaries had been forced to leave the Congo, and the country had been kept from splintering. The withdrawal of UN forces in 1964, however, opened the door to a much broader civil war. Without a stable central government, the Congo was torn by fighting among factional leaders. The Belgians, Americans, Soviets, and Chinese each provided support for their allies. The United States even conducted a parachute operation with the Belgians to rescue 2,000 Europeans and assist the government.

Firm control over the Congo was not established until 1965, when General Joseph Mobutu seized power in a military coup supported by the United States. Mobutu's corrupt dictatorship, which has lasted into the 1990s, brought an end to the fighting in what is now Zaire. Many expect, however, that the UN and Mobutu have only postponed the country's disintegration.

## Cyprus

UN peacekeepers have been stationed on the eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus for more than three decades. Since 1974, the UN force has monitored a dividing line that cuts the island in two from east to west and splits Cyprus' two main ethnic groups, the Greeks and the Turks. The UN presence has not helped resolve the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks. Rather, the conflict that first boiled over into widespread violence in the early 1960s has been frozen in place with no thaw in sight.

Cyprus' more than 700,000 people live on an island smaller than the state of Connecticut. The Greeks, who form 78 percent of the population, control 63 percent of Cyprus' territory. The remaining 37 percent of the island is held by the Turkish community, which accounts for 19 percent of Cyprus' people. Historically, Cyprus has been a Greek island. In the 16th century, however, the island fell under the rule of the Ottoman Turkish empire. In 1878, the British established control over Cyprus to serve the interests of their own empire.

Tensions in Cyprus began to rise after World War II, at a time when British leaders were being forced to let go of their vast empire. Weakened by the enormous costs of World War II, the British almost completely dismantled their empire from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. At its height in the 19th century, Britain had claimed land on six continents.

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As in other areas of the empire, Britain's presence in Cyprus after World War II was challenged by rising nationalism. Increasingly, Greek Cypriots came under the influence of a nationalist movement that called for a union between Cyprus and Greece. Beginning in 1955, they revolted against British rule. Britain in turn began preparing Cyprus for independence, involving Greek and Turkish leaders in the negotiations. The constitution the British helped draft divided political power between the Greek and Turkish communities, and guaranteed the rights of the Turkish minority. In 1960, Cyprus was granted independence.

Despite the careful attention to Greek-Turkish relations in the constitution, tension between the two communities began to grow soon after the departure of British forces. The Turks argued for strict territorial divisions to protect their autonomy, while the Greeks favored a political system that would allow them to take advantage of their superiority in numbers. Serious violence erupted in 1963, leading the UN to send a small peacekeeping force to the island to prevent further conflict.

Meanwhile, developments in Turkey and Greece added to the atmosphere of hostility. Soon after violence broke out in Cyprus, Turkey's leaders threatened to invade the island, asserting that Turkey had the right to defend Turkish Cypriots. In Greece, a military dictatorship came to power in 1967 and pushed for the unification of Cyprus and Greece. The year 1974 proved decisive for Cyprus. In July, the Cypriot National Guard, led by officers from the Greek army, seized control of the Cypriot government. Five days later, Turkey invaded the island. Rolling past UN peacekeepers, the Turkish army occupied 40 percent of Cyprus within a month. Greece mobilized its forces but did not intervene to stop the Turks.

The Turkish invasion resulted in a clear division of Cyprus, with Turkish forces occupying the northern part of the island. Whereas Greek and Turkish communities had once been scattered throughout the island, the invasion spurred a sudden shift in population. Roughly 180,000 Greeks and 50,000 Turks were uprooted by the conflict. Although the UN General Assembly called for respect of Cyprus' territorial integrity and the withdrawal of the invading army, Turkey did not comply with the resolution. Instead, the "green line" dividing Cyprus gradually took on features of permanence. Few Greeks remained in the Turkish-controlled area and few Turks were left in the Greek-controlled area. UN peacekeepers took up positions between the two communities. The Greek military officers who staged the coup in Cyprus were replaced by the deposed civilian government. In 1975, Turkish Cypriots voted to form a separate state.

The position of Greece and Turkey in the Cold War rivalry made the Cyprus conflict especially tricky for the United States and its allies. Both countries were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). With its 500,000-man army, Turkey was particularly vital to NATO's strategy in southeastern Europe. For that reason, NATO countries were reluctant to pressure Turkish Cypriots to give up their self-proclaimed republic. Although the state has been recognized only by Turkey, it has been able to function. Meanwhile, a UN force of about 1,000 soldiers has succeeded in maintaining peace on the island since 1974 with few incidents.

## South Africa

The end of the South African system of *apartheid* — or official racial discrimination — can be counted as a success for the international community. Led by African countries, the UN directed a string of strongly critical resolutions against South African *apartheid* beginning in the 1960s and imposed economic and diplomatic sanctions on the country's white-controlled government. Without resorting to force, UN efforts eventually resulted in positive change. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, South Africa's leadership was forced to gradually dismantle the *apartheid* system. The anti-*apartheid* campaign culminated in April 1994, when for the first time South Africans of all races were allowed to vote in nationwide elections.

*Apartheid* means "apartness" in the language of the white Afrikaners. The Afrikaners, most of whom trace their origins to the Netherlands, form a majority of South Africa's European population. (Only 16 percent of South Africa's 42 million people are of European descent.) The Afrikaners began settling in

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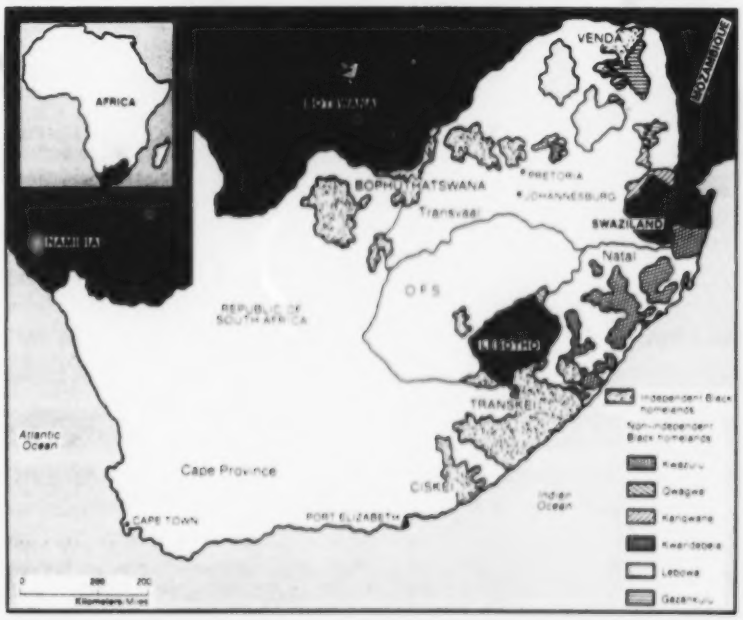


withdrew from its African colonies. The position of South Africa seemed increasingly at odds with international attitudes toward racial discrimination. White South Africans, however, were not prepared to give up their privileged status. In 1948, they resisted change by voting for the National Party. The National Party government set *apartheid* firmly into South Africa's legal system. Blacks were officially restricted to certain occupations and paid much lower wages than whites for the same work. Only whites were permitted to vote or run for public office. Furthermore, many blacks were forced to give up their land and migrate to remote "homelands" created by the government. In 1961, South Africa proclaimed its full independence from Britain.

what is today South Africa in the 17th century. In the 19th century, the British established a presence in South Africa. The British were attracted first by the area's strategically located seaports on the Cape of Good Hope, and then by the discovery of diamonds and gold. After winning a war against the Afrikaners (also known as Boers), Britain created the Union of South Africa in 1910.

The conflict between the Afrikaners and the British in South Africa was insignificant compared to the clash between white European civilization and black African civilization. Although African tribes, particularly the Zulus, courageously resisted the advancing British and Afrikaners, they were no match for the modern weapons of the Europeans. By the time the Union of South Africa was formed, an unofficial *apartheid* system was already in place. Whites ran the government, held the best farmland, and controlled the leading businesses, while blacks provided labor for white-owned enterprises, particularly the country's rich gold and diamond mines, or lived off the land not claimed by whites. In addition, the British brought in Indians from their empire in South Asia to staff the lower levels of the government.

In Britain, public opposition to racial discrimination grew after World War I. With the disintegration of the British empire after World War II, Britain

The National Party's *apartheid* policies left South Africa as a virtual outcast in the international community. Although few countries worldwide could claim a solid record in promoting democratic values and human rights, South Africa and its neighbor Rhodesia (also ruled by a white minority) were alone in openly defending racism. The progress of the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s added to South Africa's isolation.

South Africa's confrontation with the international community began in earnest in 1960, after South African police killed 70 black protesters in the Sharpeville township. In response to the massacre, the UN Secretary Council issued a resolution condemning *apartheid*. In 1963, the Security Council recommended a ban on arms sales to South Africa. Other resolutions followed in the coming years. In 1973, South Africa was denied a seat in the UN General Assembly.

South Africa's huge reserves of gold, diamonds, and other minerals gave the country a strategic position in the Cold War. But after the mid-1970s, even the United States and other Western countries that had opposed harshly punishing South Africa took a stronger stand against *apartheid*. Most important for South Africa's government was the pressure to impose trade sanctions against the country. In the West, support for trade sanctions was spurred by private groups. By the

late 1980s, the sanctions movement had resulted in a substantial drop in U.S.-South African trade and had prompted many American companies to cut their investment ties to South Africa.

South Africa was pushed up against a wall. Despite the country's mineral wealth, the economy was sagging. Meanwhile, anti-*apartheid* protests were spreading in defiance of a government crackdown. In 1989, South Africa's president resigned in favor of Frederik de Klerk. As pressure for change mounted, de Klerk released African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in 1990. The following year, he announced plans to end the *apartheid* system and begin negotiations to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

## East Timor

The case of East Timor illustrates the inconsistency of the international system. Beginning in 1975, the East Timorese fell victim to an invasion by Indonesia. As many as 200,000 people died at the hands of the Indonesian army. Although the UN Security Council officially called for the invading troops to withdraw, in fact the United States and its leading allies did not take a firm stance to halt the slaughter in East Timor.

Why did the international community involve itself in the Congo, Cyprus, and South Africa, while ignoring the plight of East Timor? Several factors account for East Timor's fate. In the international arena of the mid-1970s, East Timor's suffering was outweighed by the importance of the Indonesian government. Indonesia's President Suharto ruled over a collection of 17,000 islands in Southeast Asia. The country was rich in oil, gas, and other natural resources, and was seen as a key U.S. ally in the struggle against communism. Trade ties between Indonesia and the West were growing, especially as Suharto sought to build up his military. Meanwhile, the fewer than 700,000 people of East Timor — half of a remote island located 300 miles north of Australia — attracted little outside interest.

The story of the conflict in East Timor has its origins in the region's colonial past. For more than 400 years, East Timor was controlled by Portugal. Meanwhile, the western half of the island, along with the other islands that today make up Indonesia, were under Dutch rule. The Indonesians gained independence from the Netherlands in 1949 and for the next sixteen years grappled with mounting political instability. The turmoil erupted into civil war in 1965. As head of the Indonesian army, Suharto led the military to victory over Soviet-backed rebels. At least 300,000 rebels were killed in Suharto's effort to crush opposition to his regime.

East Timor was shielded from the violence in Indonesia. In 1974, however, Portuguese colonial rule over East Timor suddenly ended after Portugal's dictatorial government fell from power. The East Timorese hoped that the collapse of the Portuguese empire would allow them to achieve independence. Suharto, though, had other plans for East Timor. In December 1975, he ordered his army to invade the island. At the time, only one foreign journalist was present in East Timor, and he too was killed shortly after the invasion. Human rights groups later gathered evidence to show that the Indonesian forces massacred thousands of unarmed civilians. In the months and years that followed, entire villages were destroyed in air attacks. Farmers were herded into military camps, where they often died of starvation and disease. In

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addition, the teaching of the Timorese language was banned and Indonesians were brought in to repopulate the island.

In his campaign to absorb East Timor into Indonesia, Suharto encountered only mild opposition from the international community. Two days before Indonesia's invasion, President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State of Henry Kissinger visited Indonesia to meet their anti-communist ally, Suharto. The meeting was viewed as a sign of U.S. support for the Suharto regime. When the UN General Assembly passed a resolution a few days later condemning the invasion, the United States, Britain, Germany, France, and Australia abstained from the voting, while Japan opposed the resolution. A UN Security Council resolution calling on "all states to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor" was later accepted by the Western countries.

Ultimately, Suharto ignored the UN resolutions and tightened Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The international community was largely silent in the face of his defiance. Nonetheless, the East Timorese gradually mounted a guerrilla movement that continues today to resist the Indonesian army .

# Part III: Five Current Case Studies

The end of the Cold War reinvigorated the UN and raised hopes that the original goals of the UN Charter would serve as the basis for a new international system. The first major test of the new era occurred when Iraq invaded the oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait in August 1990. The UN, with the United States in the lead, reacted decisively. The day after the Iraqi invasion, the UN Security Council demanded Iraq's immediate withdrawal. An economic blockade of Iraq soon followed. Before the economic sanctions had time to fully take effect, however, the Security Council decided in November 1990 to authorize "all necessary means" to force Iraq out of Kuwait.

By the time the Persian Gulf War began in January 1991, twenty-eight countries had joined the U.S.-led coalition against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Not since the Korean War had the UN organized a military operation of such size. The war marked a turning point in the use of force by the international community. For the first time in UN history, the world's leading powers stood together to oppose an act of international aggression. Moreover, the war gave the international community confidence to apply force to other areas of conflict.

The Persian Gulf War represented a victory for the founding ideals of the UN. As the UN Charter had envisioned, the international community had united to prevent one country from violating the rights of another. But while the defeat of Saddam Hussein strengthened the international community's resolve to tackle difficult problems, the lessons of the war generally offered little guidance for the conflicts that were to come. In the following pages, you will examine five current conflicts in which the United States is either playing a role or is considering involvement. As you will see, these conflicts often present challenges that were not foreseen by the creators of the UN.

## The Kurds of Northern Iraq

Since the Persian Gulf War ended in 1991, almost 4 million Kurds have depended largely on the international community to protect them from Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's army and to provide relief supplies to them. The UN operation in northern Iraq set an important precedent by intervening in a sovereign state for humanitarian purposes. The UN's willingness to overstep the sovereignty of Iraq paved the way for similar actions in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia.

For the moment, northern Iraq's Kurds are governing themselves in an area of 15,000 square miles (less than half the size of South Carolina). To the south of the Kurdish zone, however, Iraqi troops remain positioned for attack. Little progress has been made on reaching an understanding between the Kurdish leadership and Saddam Hussein.

The Kurds, an ancient people of the Middle East, live by the adage: "The mountains are our only friends." More than 20 million Kurds are scattered over five countries in the Middle East. The largest group, about 12 million, lives in Turkey, while another 5 million Kurds are based in Iran and 4.5 million in Iraq. The Kurds constitute the largest ethnic group in the Middle East without a state of its own. Although Kurds have often been in conflict with the governments of Turkey and Iran, today the Kurds of northern Iraq face the gravest threats.

The Kurds have been among the chief losers in

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the political changes that have swept over the Middle East in the 20th century. As a people of the mountains divided among numerous tribes, the Kurds lagged behind their Turkish, Arab, and Persian neighbors in developing a unifying sense of nationalism. The Kurds failed to achieve statehood at the end of World War I, when the Allied powers were redrawing the map of the defeated Ottoman Turkish empire. Although Kurdish nationalists lobbied President Wilson and other Western leaders, their interests were ignored in the final peace settlement.

With the growth of nationalism in the Middle East, the Kurds were often the target of government persecution. In Turkey, for example, the government denied their ethnic identity — officially referring to them as "mountain Turks" — and sought to stamp out their language and culture. Thousands of Kurds were killed by the Turkish army in the 1920s and 1930s. During the Cold War, the Kurds served largely as a tool of U.S. and Soviet policy in the Middle East. In the early 1970s, Kurdish guerrillas received U.S. aid to press their campaign for autonomy against the pro-Soviet regime in Iraq. In 1974, however, U.S. aid was suddenly stopped at the request of the Shah of Iran, an American ally. The Kurdish guerrilla movement was then subject to a war of extermination orchestrated by Iraq's Saddam Hussein. An estimated 4,200 Kurdish villages were destroyed by the Iraqi army. At least 180,000 Kurds were forced out of their homeland, either dying at the hands of Iraqi soldiers or crowded into camps in southern Iraq. The most well-known incident of Saddam's brutality took place in 1988, when Iraq's air force dropped poison gas on the town of Halabja. At least 5,000 people were killed in the attack.

Kurdish suffering during the 1970s and 1980s failed to prompt a forceful international response. President George Bush, for example, opposed strong sanctions against Saddam after the Halabja massacre, fearing that Iran might get the upper hand in its eight-year war against Iraq. Divisions among the Kurds also continued. At the time of the Halabja massacre, Iraqi Kurds could be found fighting on both sides of the Iran-Iraq War.

The Persian Gulf War opened a new chapter in Kurdish history. With the quick defeat of Iraq's army by the U.S.-led coalition in early 1991, the Kurds of northern Iraq saw an opportunity to overthrow Saddam Hussein. Along with Shi'ite Muslims in southern Iraq and other opposition forces, Kurdish guerrillas renewed their rebellion against the Iraqi army. International support for the rebellion, however, evaporated after Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and other Middle Eastern states voiced concern that the disintegration of Iraq would touch off regional instability.

With the shift in international attitudes, Saddam Hussein concentrated the remainder of his army on smashing the Kurdish resistance. The Iraqi advance pushed nearly 2 million panicked Kurds across the border into Turkey and Iran. Hundreds died in snowy mountain passes and makeshift refugee camps. In response to the crisis, 20,000 troops from the U.S.-led coalition carved out a security zone for the Kurds near the Turkish border. They also warned that Iraqi warplanes flying north of the 36th parallel would be shot down. In a matter of days, a UN-authorized safe haven had been created mostly by U.S. forces.

> *If the Allies give Saddam any breathing space, he will kill us all. Please protect us!*
> *—Kurdish victim of Iraqi torture*

Since Kurdish guerrillas beat back an Iraqi offensive in the summer of 1991, both sides have settled into a tense standoff. The Iraqi army has enforced a blockade against the Kurdish zone, resulting in widespread hunger and forcing the Kurds to rely mostly on trade across the borders of Turkey and Iran. Relations with Turkey are especially delicate. Turkey has served as the main economic lifeline of the Kurds in northern Iraq. At the same time, the Turkish government has applied heavy-handed measures to defeat Kurdish rebels in eastern Turkey.

To secure their future in northern Iraq, the Kurds have organized a 100,000-man army, held elections, and organized a coalition government. Most leading Kurds profess that they are seeking autonomy within Iraq, not independence. On the international scene, the UN continues to impose an embargo on Iraq while supplying $145 million in annual emergency aid to the Kurds. The international troops are gone from northern

Iraq, but the no-fly zone is still enforced, mostly by American pilots flying out of a U.S. air base in Turkey. Few of those close to the conflict expect Saddam Hussein to compromise with his Kurdish citizens.

## Bosnia

Beginning in 1992, Bosnia (or Bosnia-Herzegovina) has been the scene of the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II. By early 1994, nearly 200,000 people had died in the struggle for Bosnia. Another 2 million had become refugees. Located in the middle of the Balkan peninsula, a region with a long history of fiery nationalism and war, Bosnia was once one of Europe's most ethnically mixed areas. When conflict broke out there in 1992, Bosnia was seen as a test of Europe's ability to halt the spread of aggressive nationalism. Despite the crisis, until February 1994 Europe and the rest of the international community were not willing to forcefully intervene in Bosnia. Now that military action has been taken, the world must ask what it is prepared to do to bring peace to this war-torn country.

Bosnia began receiving international attention shortly after the Soviet Union fell apart. Like the republics of the former Soviet Union, Bosnia had also been part of a communist country — Yugoslavia — with many ethnic groups. As in the Soviet Union, communism had masked many of Yugoslavia's ethnic problems. In both countries, the late 1980s saw old wounds reopen.

Yugoslavia, which means the land of the South Slavs, was formed by the international statesmen who redrew the map of Europe after World War I. In fact, the peoples of Yugoslavia had never been united by a single national identity. During the 1920s and 1930s, Yugoslav politics was marked by a tug of war between the Eastern Orthodox Serbs and the Roman Catholic Croats. Little progress was made toward forging a national Yugoslav identity. Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II opened a period of terrible bloodshed. More than 1 million people died in the country during the war, many of them at the hands of their fellow Yugoslavs. By 1945, the defeat of the Nazis and a cruel civil war brought communist leader Marshal Tito to power.

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Tito's iron-fisted rule and popularity as a wartime hero held Yugoslavia together during the Cold War. Under Tito, a complex federal system distributed political power among Yugoslavia's ethnic groups. After Tito's death in 1980, however, the country's power-sharing arrangement fell apart and a period of political and economic crisis began. Yugoslavia's difficulties were exploited by hard-line nationalistic politicians. In the republic of Serbia, for example, Slobodan Milosevic gained power in 1987 and pledged to promote Serbian rights. Milosevic's moves to claim a greater share of power for himself in turn fed nationalism in Yugoslavia's other republics. In 1991 and 1992, Yugoslavia's federal system came apart, with the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia declaring independence. Fighting erupted in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 before spilling over into Bosnia in early 1992. (Only two republics — Serbia and Montenegro — remained part of Yugoslavia.)

Bosnia had been Yugoslavia's most ethnically mixed republic — a "little Yugoslavia" where Bosnian Muslim, Serb, and Croat communities lived side by side in mountain villages. While Bosnia's Muslims and Croats supported the creation of an independent country, local Serbs feared they would be subject to persecution. Once fighting broke out, the toll of the Bosnian war quickly surpassed that of the conflicts elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. Although all sides were guilty of atrocities, Bosnian Serb forces were responsible for most of the brutality against civilians. The Serbs sought to eliminate Muslims and Croats

from areas under their control. The process of "ethnic cleansing" was carried out through torture, gang rape, concentration camps, and massacre. By 1993, Bosnian Serb forces controlled 70 percent of Bosnia's territory.

The UN established a small peacekeeping force for the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo early in 1992, announced that Serbian aircraft were prohibited from flying over Bosnia, and imposed economic sanctions on Milosevic's government. At the same time, arms shipments were blocked to all parties involved in the fighting. (The arms embargo gave the Bosnian Serbs, who received weapons from the Yugoslav army under Milosevic, a clear advantage over the poorly armed Bosnian Muslims.) In the summer of 1992, the UN authorized the use of "all measures necessary" to ensure that food and medicine reached people suffering in Bosnia. In addition, the UN and the European Union had sponsored a series of negotiation sessions and helped draft several peace plans.

By early 1994, the UN had established seven "safe havens" in Bosnia and increased the number of UN troops to 13,000. Most of the soldiers had come from Western Europe. International efforts, however, had failed to halt the violence and misery in Bosnia. Although the UN had issued strongly worded resolutions, there was no military commitment to back them up. The UN forces on the ground were caught in a state of limbo. Their mission called on them to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief, and yet the UN forces were not equipped to resist the Bosnian Serbs.

> *There is a fantastic gap between the resolutions of the Security Council, the will to execute those resolutions, and the means available to commanders in the field.*
>
> *—Lt. General Francis Briquemont, former UN commander in Bosnia*

The early months of 1994 witnessed a flurry of international activity to end the war in Bosnia. In February, a mortar attack on an outdoor market in Sarajevo killed 68 civilians. In response, NATO leaders announced their willingness to use air strikes to silence the Serbian artillery around Sarajevo. Faced with the NATO ultimatum, Bosnian Serb forces agreed to stop shelling the city and moved their heavy guns beyond the range of Sarajevo.

The international community's tougher stance was backed up by military action. The clash at the end of February 1994 between U.S. and Serbian pilots, in which four Serbian planes were shot down, marked the first time the international community had carried through on a threat to use force in Bosnia. In April 1994, responding to a UN request, U.S. planes bombed Bosnian Serb ground targets to stop an advance on the Muslim town of Gorazde.

On the diplomatic front, the United States, Western Europe, and Russia worked together to press for a peace settlement in Bosnia. Bosnian Croats and Muslims signed an agreement to end their ten months of fighting and form a federation in Bosnia loosely tied to Croatia. The accord between the Croats and Muslims has tilted the balance of power in Bosnia against the Serbs. With international pressure against them mounting, Bosnian Serbs eased their siege of Sarajevo and allowed UN relief supplies to reach several Muslim towns surrounded by their forces. Elsewhere in Bosnia, however, they remained on the offensive.

Looking ahead to an overall peace settlement in Bosnia, NATO officials have estimated that as many as 50,000 troops may be needed to oversee an agreement. UN plans depend on U.S. participation. Officially, the United States has pledged to send as many as 25,000 troops to Bosnia, but only after a peace settlement is in place. Meanwhile, President Bill Clinton has announced that the U.S. force of 322 peacekeepers in neighboring Macedonia will be roughly doubled, allowing Scandinavian troops to be transferred to Bosnia. Clinton has conceded that mobilizing public support for U.S. involvement in Bosnia will be difficult.

## Somalia

When U.S. forces entered Somalia in December 1992, President George Bush hoped that the operation would serve as a model for future efforts in the area of international intervention. By the time the last American troops withdrew from the arid East African country of 7 million people in March 1994, little of the original optimism remained. Instead, Americans were

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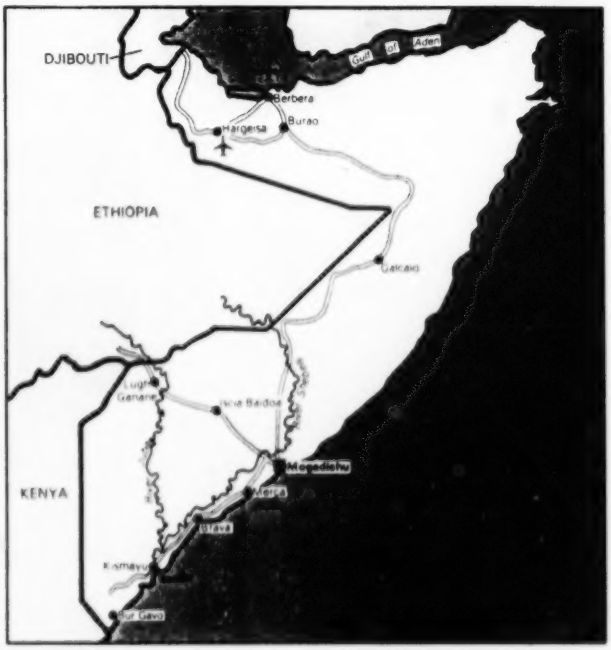


left asking themselves what role the United States should play in Somalia and other countries that lack basic institutions of government, such as a police force and a postal service.

Somalia's current troubles began in the late 1980s, when a civil war among the country's leading clans heated up. The country plunged deeper into chaos after Somalia's dictatorial ruler, Mohammed Siad Barre, was overthrown in January 1991. In the months that followed, law and order collapsed. Bands of heavily armed young men roamed the countryside, terrorizing the local population and looting international relief supplies. Meanwhile, the civil war continued among the clans that had overthrown Barre. In 1992 alone, more than 400,000 people died from the famine caused by warfare and drought.

Media reports in the summer of 1992 brought the suffering in Somalia to international attention. Television images of starving children and ransacked refugee camps left a deep impression on American viewers and prodded the UN to authorize a small force to protect relief operations. Nonetheless, most Americans were surprised when President Bush proposed that the United States take the lead in safeguarding international relief efforts. Bush pledged that American troops would be home in less than two months.

Significant strides were made in the first two months of the U.S.-led operation. By the end of January 1993, there were about 25,000 U.S. troops in Somalia, along with 13,000 soldiers from twenty other nations. The U.S.-led forces succeeded in protecting relief stations, establishing control over the seaport, airport, and key roads, and imposing law and order in much of the countryside. International relief efforts were put back on track and suffering was reduced.

Even before the arrival of U.S. soldiers, however, UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had urged the United States to take on a more ambitious set of goals. Boutros-Ghali believed that the misery in Somalia could be stopped only if the warring clans were disarmed and the country's shattered government was rebuilt. Although the United States resisted the secretary general's plan, the UN operation was expanded in March 1993. For the first time, a UN

Jeff MacNelly in the *Chicago Tribune*. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services

secretary general was clearly in command of a military operation designed to punish aggression under chapter VII of the UN Charter.

The shift in the UN mission required troops on the ground to step into the middle of Somalia's civil war. In many respects, the situation in Somalia was even more complex than the Congo crisis — the UN's first attempt at "nation-building." Unlike the situation in the Congo, the roots of Somali society were nomadic. Clan leaders had little use for a central government and jealously guarded their independence. In a poor county covered mostly by desert, each clan was willing to fight for its share of Somalia's land, water, and other resources.

The first major clash between the UN force and a Somali faction occurred in June 1993, when twenty-four Pakistani peacekeepers were killed in an ambush. UN officials blamed clan leader Mohammed Farah Aideed and launched a manhunt to capture him. Increasingly, U.S. troops found themselves battling Aideed's forces. The clash that occurred in October 1993 and left eighteen American soldiers dead marked the highest casualty rate in a single battle since the Vietnam War.

> *The folks back home were asleep at the switch. All of a sudden, we went from feeding to fighting.*
> *—Lt. Colonel Raoul Archambault, U.S. Forces in Somalia*

The October 1993 battle also signaled a turning point in U.S. policy. Just as television images had prompted American interest in Somalia, the sight of a U.S. soldier's charred body being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu turned many Americans against further involvement. President Clinton responded by announcing U.S. troops would be withdrawn from Somalia by the end of March 1994. At the same time, the United States called off the manhunt for Aideed and sought to bring him into negotiations with other clan leaders.

Although the UN operation in Somalia is scheduled to continue until March 1995, the U.S. pullout has prompted European countries to leave as well. By the end of April 1994, the UN presence in Somalia had dropped to 18,000 soldiers. Meanwhile, the UN civilian mission continues to function. Plans call for training a 10,000-man police force and helping Mogadishu's more than 250,000 refugees return home.

Many Somalis fear that their country may again slip into chaos. For the moment, the famine is over and clan leaders have held negotiations on forming a new government. The future, however, is not promising. The remaining UN forces have often found themselves hunkered down behind sandbags rather than going out on patrol. Fighting among rival clans picked up in the early months of 1994. International relief workers have increasingly left the country, worried about their safety. Even Mohammed Farah Aideed has installed burglar bars on the window of his newly restored home in Mogadishu.

## Haiti

Haiti's history bears the marks of political turmoil, poverty, and extensive U.S. involvement. The country's current crisis reflects this troubled past. Haiti is controlled today by a military regime that seized power in September 1991. The country's democratically elected president, Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, has been forced into exile and must rely on the international community to restore him to power. Meanwhile, conditions for Haiti's 6.5 million people have turned increasingly desperate, raising fears that thousands of them may try to seek refuge in the United States.

Haiti shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. The French began colonizing the island in the 16th century, bringing in African slaves to work their plantations. In 1804, Haiti gained independence from France after slaves organized a successful revolt. Haiti's rulers, however, failed to establish a stable political system on the island. In 1915, U.S. Marines landed in Haiti to establish order and ensure that the island did not fall under German influence. The Marines remained until 1934, leaving behind a country that was administered chiefly by the military.

From 1957 to 1986, Haiti was governed by Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier and his son Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. The Duvalier dynasty brought

a measure of political stability to Haiti, but the great majority of Haitians saw little improvement in their lives. Increasingly, Haitian society was divided between a small, educated elite in the well-kept neighborhoods of Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, and a huge poverty-stricken class of illiterate farmers and slum dwellers. Duvalier's police force and army maintained the social structure through a combination of brutality, intimidation, and voodoo. Haiti became the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

The boundless corruption of "Baby Doc" Duvalier ultimately triggered his downfall in 1986. After Duvalier fled to France, however, Haiti's troubles continued. A series of military leaders laid claim to power but lacked the strength to establish control over the government. Meanwhile, a grassroots movement for democracy slowly gathered momentum among Haiti's poor.

With the support of the international community, Haiti held its first fully democratic election in 1990. The results were a rejection of the old elite. Aristide, a Roman Catholic priest closely identified with the democracy movement, won 67 percent of the vote in a field of eleven candidates. His promise to reorganize the army and police force, clamp down on corruption, and reform the economy stirred hope among Haiti's poor. Aristide's platform, however, terrified the country's ruling class. In September 1991, the old elite directed the military coup that forced Aristide to flee the country.

The international community has been united in its opposition to Lt. General Raul Cedras and the other army officials who deposed Aristide. The Organization of American States, to which thirty-five countries in the Western Hemisphere belong, imposed a regional economic embargo on Haiti. As conditions in Haiti worsened, thousands of Haitians set out across the Caribbean, hoping to reach U.S. territory. Although some were granted refugee status, the majority were returned to Haiti or were turned back at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard. Human rights groups estimate that in 1991-93 the Haitian government killed as many as 5,000 of its citizens and forced 40,000 to flee the country.

> *I say 'no' to any strategy aimed at resuming the path that led to death.*
>
> *—Jean-Bertrand Aristide*

In June 1993, the UN Security Council tightened the screws further on Haiti's rulers by freezing their foreign bank accounts and imposing an oil embargo on the island. The measures prompted Cedras to sign an agreement to restore democracy and allow Aristide to return as president at the end of October 1993. The agreement, however, unraveled before Aristide ever set foot on the island. The most dramatic act of defiance came in early October, when a small group of protesters backed by the Haitian army and police prevented a boatload of U.S. and Canadian troops representing the UN from docking at Port-au-Prince. The incident occurred only a few days after eighteen American soldiers had been killed in Somalia. Fearing more bloodshed, President Clinton ordered the ship to withdraw from Haitian waters.

Since the confrontation in Port-au-Prince, the United States has pursued a cautious policy with respect to Haiti. A plan proposed by the Clinton administration in early 1994 calls for Cedras to step down, but would leave other military leaders in place to participate in a government of national unity. Aristide has rejected the proposal, insisting that the military must be forced from power. Along with Canada and France, Aristide has favored expanding the trade embargo on Haiti to cover virtually all goods other than food and medicine. The rift between U.S. officials and Aristide has widened since the United States put forward another compromise plan in March 1994.

## Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland, an area of the United Kingdom slightly larger than Connecticut, is the site of Western Europe's most well-known internal conflict. Religion and ethnic background are the chief dividing lines among the people of Northern Ireland. On one side of the conflict are the Catholics, who make up 43 percent of the region's 1,570,000 people and share a common religion, culture, and ethnic background with the great majority of the population in southern Ireland, or the Republic of Ireland. On the other side are the Protestants, who constitute the remainder of Northern Ireland's population. Most of Northern Ireland's Protestants trace their ancestry to Scotland or England, and closely identify with Britain.

Compared to most other parts of the world, the British Isles seem an odd place for a religious and ethnic conflict in the late 20th century. Britain, of course, is the birthplace of many of the world's standards for the rule of law and civic rights. The British government has also long been a champion of human rights in the international community. In Northern Ireland, however, Britain's admirable values are entangled with the country's imperial past.

By the time the conflict in Northern Ireland began to heat up in the late 1960s, almost all of Britain's colonies had gained their independence. Northern Ireland, however, represented a different kind of colonial possession for Britain. England had begun encouraging English and Scottish farmers to colonize

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Ireland in the 17th century. They soon formed the ruling class of Ireland. Irish attempts to overturn colonial power were brutally crushed, and special laws discriminating against Irish Catholics were imposed. The Irish rose against British rule during World War I, waging a determined guerrilla war against the British army that ended with the signing of a peace treaty in 1921. Under the agreement, what is today the Republic of Ireland won self-rule and went on to achieve full independence in 1948. Northern Ireland, however, remained part of the United Kingdom.

The great majority of Northern Ireland's Protestants strongly favored maintaining their region's ties to the United Kingdom. In contrast, most Catholics supported a single Irish state for the island. Although Britain gradually withdrew from its colonies in Africa, South Asia, and elsewhere after World War II, the Protestant community in Northern Ireland insisted that the British presence continue in the six counties known as Ulster.

In 1968, Catholics launched a civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, complaining of official discrimination in employment and housing. The following year, the British sent troops to Northern Ireland

to stop Protestant attacks against the civil rights movement. Terrorism soon deepened the conflict, with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) fighting to force the British out of Northern Ireland and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) battling against secession. In 1972, Britain ended local government in Northern Ireland and imposed direct rule on the region. Nonetheless, the violence continued. By 1994, about 3,000 people had died in connection with the conflict in Northern Ireland.

Polls have indicated that a solid majority of both Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland condemn the use of violence, and yet numerous efforts to establish a peaceful settlement have failed. The most recent peace initiative came in December 1993, when the prime ministers of Britain and Ireland issued a joint declaration. Under the agreement, the British and Irish leaders pledged to honor any agreement approved by a majority of Northern Ireland's people. Furthermore, the British government offered to open talks with *Sinn Fein*, the political arm of the IRA, if the IRA ended its use of violence.

Although *Sinn Fein* did not endorse the December 1993 initiative, leaders on both sides of the conflict conceded that lasting peace was not possible without IRA support. *Sinn Fein* officials have said that the IRA would lay down its arms only when Britain commits itself to promoting Ireland's unity. As an indication of the IRA's capacity for further terrorism, the IRA staged a series of mortar attacks on London's Heathrow Airport in March 1994. At the opposite extreme, hard-line Protestants have demanded that *Sinn Fein* be denied a role in settling the conflict in Northern Ireland.

> *As long as Britain remains committed to a part of Ireland, republicans will remain committed to the IRA.*
>
> *—Pat McGeown, senior member of Sinn Fein*

British Prime Minister John Major has affirmed that Britain will remain in Northern Ireland as long as most residents there want to be a part of the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, Northern Ireland continues to act as a drain on Britain's resources. Each year, the region receives roughly $6 billion in special government subsidies to prop up its weak economy.

Inevitably, the United States has been caught up in the conflict in Northern Ireland. Close U.S.-British relations have long been a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. Deeply entrenched economic, military, and cultural ties between the two countries have made British officials extremely sensitive to American opinion. In February 1994, for example, they were upset when the United States allowed Gerry Adams, the president of *Sinn Fein*, to enter the country. Adams, who had been denied entry to the United States for twenty years because of his links to terrorism, used the visit to rally American public support for *Sinn Fein's* position. The millions of Americans who trace their roots to Ireland also figure into the U.S. role in Northern Ireland's conflict. Not only have Irish-Americans campaigned for Ireland's unity, but British officials claim they have provided much of the financial support for *Sinn Fein* and the IRA.

## Conclusion

The five case studies discussed here represent only a handful of the conflicts raging around the world. They are among the conflicts that have captured worldwide attention. Others have been largely ignored. Even as American troops intervened in Somalia in December 1992, the human suffering in neighboring Sudan was at least as horrific, and yet no action was taken. The contrast raises fundamental questions about U.S. policy toward international intervention.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy on this issue. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and our relationship with the UN. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where U.S. policy should be heading.

## Options in Brief

### Option 1 — Cooperate to Strengthen the UN

World history has reached a pivotal moment. Today, the international community is poised as never before to work together to address global problems. The great powers now share a common interest in promoting peace and tackling the issues that affect the entire planet. At this historic juncture, the United States should focus its energies on strengthening the United Nations — the only institution capable of addressing the challenges of the 21st century. We should join ranks with other countries under the UN umbrella to devise a comprehensive strategy to respond promptly to the world's many conflicts. The international community must let the world's aggressors know that they will be punished.

### Option 2 — Protect Our Interests

With the end of the Cold War, the United States must now pick its way through a complex tangle of shifting alliances and conflicting interests. In the matter of intervening abroad, that means that the United States must carefully choose how and where it gets involved. The United States needs to maintain important trading partnerships, control the spread of nuclear weapons, and prevent a flood of refugees from overwhelming us and our allies. Our judgment must not be clouded by reports of misery and injustice. Ultimately, we must do what is required to protect U.S. interests.

### Option 3 — Keep Our Distance

Since the late 1940s, the United States has stuck its nose into problems around the world. For the United States, the obsession with foreign affairs has come at the expense of dealing with our problems here at home. For the rest of the world, our pattern of intervention has not brought peace and prosperity. Today, we must strike a new balance between foreign policy and domestic issues — a balance that addresses the real concerns of Americans. The United States should not take part in the international community's efforts to intervene in conflict areas. Rather, we must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

### Option 4 — Stand Up for Principle

Since our country was founded, the world has turned to the United States for inspiration and leadership. We have led the way in developing a society based on democracy and liberty. Today, the United States has a greater role than ever to play in the world. As the only remaining superpower, we are in a position to advance the American values of democracy and human rights throughout the globe. The United States should let the world know that we will take the lead in intervening abroad to nurture the values of democracy and human rights. When people are dying in the name of our most cherished values, we must exercise leadership, not get caught up in the endless debates of the UN.

Option 1

# Cooperate to Strengthen the UN

World history has reached a pivotal moment. Today, the international community is poised as never before to work together to address global problems. The divisions that paralyzed the UN Security Council during the Cold War have passed. The rapid expansion of trade and advances in technology have linked the fate of each country to the international community. The great powers now share a common interest in promoting peace and tackling the issues that affect the entire planet, such as environmental pollution, AIDS, and the worldwide refugee crisis. At this historic juncture, the United States should focus its energies on strengthening the United Nations — the only institution capable of addressing the challenges of the 21st century. A key element in our commitment to global cooperation must be the active pursuit of conflict resolution through the UN.

The United States should join ranks with other countries under the UN umbrella to devise a comprehensive strategy to respond promptly to the world's many conflicts. The international community needs a set of principles to guide its actions. We must draw a line on genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other intolerable violations of human rights. The international community must let the world's aggressors know that they will be punished. We must assure minority groups that the international community will protect them from wide-scale violations of their rights at the hands of their governments. As the UN Charter envisioned, conflict prevention should be emphasized to resolve disputes before they lead to violence. Where violence has broken out, the UN must intervene swiftly to stop the killing and limit human suffering. To achieve effective global cooperation, a consensus among the great powers is essential. The United States is the linchpin. Our country must be careful to maintain good relations not only with Western Europe and Japan, but also with Russia, China, India, Brazil, and other powers of the developing world. The future of the planet depends on our commitment.

### What guidelines should we follow?

- The United States should provide troops to form a permanent UN peacekeeping force under UN command.
- The United States should join other countries to help craft a set of principles to guide UN intervention in areas of conflict.
- The United States should allow U.S. troops to serve under UN command and ensure that the UN has adequate financial resources.
- The United States should do its share to enforce economic sanctions and support diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the UN.
- The United States should seek to maintain a consensus among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, paying special attention to the concerns of Russia and China.

### How would Option 1 respond to the following conflicts?

**Bosnia:** The United States should make military forces available to help the UN bring peace to all of Bosnia.

**The Kurds in northern Iraq:** U.S. pilots should continue to help the UN enforce the no-fly zone and continue its mission in northern Iraq.

**Somalia:** U.S. forces should return to help carry out the UN mission of rebuilding the Somali government and maintaining peace.

**Haiti:** The United States should support the tightening of economic sanctions to force Haiti's military rulers to accept the decisions of the UN.

**Northern Ireland:** The United States should help Britain resolve the conflict by offering to participate in a UN peacekeeping force for Northern Ireland.

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## PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Setting and enforcing international standards of behavior for governments worldwide will stop even the most ruthless tyrants from abusing their citizens, and will convince minority groups that they do not need to turn to violence and secession as an answer to their problems.

2. Global cooperation to resolve conflicts will reduce the overall risk of war, promote more stable trade relations, and in the long run allow the United States to reduce its military spending.

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3. The success of the UN in Bosnia, Somalia, and other conflict areas will strengthen the international community's hand in addressing environmental pollution, AIDS, and other global problems.

## CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Requiring American soldiers to serve under the misguided command of the UN will inevitably result in the death of our country's troops in conflicts that are of no interest to the United States.

2. Turning over decision-making power to the UN will undercut the ability of the United States to respond swiftly and decisively to international crises.

3. Because of the need to maintain a consensus in the UN Security Council, we will have to overlook the human rights abuses of China and Russia.

4. Giving the UN the green light to expand its peacekeeping efforts will require American taxpayers to pay billions of dollars more to support UN efforts.

5. Accepting the UN's belief that political messages can be delivered through limited military action will subject the United States to the same philosophy that left American troops frustrated and vulnerable in the Vietnam War.

Option 2

# Protect Our Interests

The end of the Cold War has turned back the clock of history. Our country is no longer focused on containing the global ambitions of a rival superpower. Rather, the United States must pick its way through a complex tangle of shifting alliances and conflicting interests. Although the Cold War may have blurred our memory, this is the normal state of affairs in international relations. We cannot change the way of the world. On the contrary, we must accept reality and craft our policies accordingly. In the matter of intervening abroad, that means that the United States must carefully choose how and where it gets involved. Our country has real interests in the world. For example, the United States needs to maintain important trading partnerships, control the spread of nuclear weapons, and prevent a flood of refugees from overwhelming us and our allies. The United States cannot afford to withdraw into its shell. But neither should we launch any grand crusade to save the world.

The United States should intervene only in conflicts where our interests are directly affected. We need to pay attention to conflicts that threaten to disrupt our trade relations or trigger an outpouring of refugees headed for our borders. In contrast, conflicts in distant regions in which we have few interests, such as Somalia, should be ignored. Our judgment must not be clouded by reports of misery and injustice. Whenever possible, we should use the United Nations as a tool to achieve our goals. International organizations are worth preserving. Ultimately, however, we must do what is required to protect U.S. interests. When necessary, we should not hesitate to act independently of the UN. Others may dream of an international system based on justice and goodwill, but for now the United States must look out for itself.

### What guidelines should we follow?

- The United States should oppose the formation of a permanent UN peacekeeping force.
- The United States should intervene only in conflicts that directly affect our interests or the interests of our main trading partners.
- The United States should respond to conflicts abroad on a case-by-case basis, not by following a rigid set of principles.
- The United States should use force only to accomplish well-defined military missions, and insist that American troops serve exclusively under U.S. command.
- The United States should work most closely with our key allies in Western Europe, East Asia, and North America to resolve conflicts abroad and control the movement of refugees.

**How would Option 2 respond to the following conflicts?**

**Bosnia:** The United States should increase its peacekeeping presence in countries surrounding Bosnia to prevent war from spreading to other areas of the Balkans.

**The Kurds in northern Iraq:** The United States should gradually withdraw its presence from northern Iraq.

**Somalia:** The United States should recommend that the UN end its operation in Somalia.

**Haiti:** The United States should send troops to depose the military regime and restore stability to Haiti.

**Northern Ireland:** The United States should clamp down on Irisn-American support for the IRA and stand behind British efforts to resolve the conflict in Northern Ireland.

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## PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Responding to conflicts on a case-by-case basis will allow U.S. leaders to exercise a full range of diplomatic, economic, and military options.

2. Making our own decisions will allow the United States to concentrate its resources on conflicts that matter most to our country.

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3. Developing a policy on international intervention that reflects U.S. interests and concerns will allow our leaders to efficiently restructure the military to meet a clearly defined purpose.

## CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Selfishly pursuing our own interests in international intervention will harm our relations with other countries in the UN.

2. Meddling in the affairs of other countries will inevitably entangle the United States in long-term, no-win disputes and cost American lives.

3. Intervening in conflicts only where direct U.S. interests are at stake will leave aggressors unchecked in much of the world.

4. Charting a foreign policy that tramples on respected international principles and undermines the role of the UN will weaken the foundations of the entire international system.

5. By intervening in a conflict to defend narrow U.S. interests, the United States will provoke other great powers to likewise intervene to protect their own national interests.

Option 3

# Keep Our Distance

Since the late 1940s, the United States has stuck its nose into problems around the world. No area of the globe has been beyond the reach of U.S. policymakers. With the Cold War over, the results of more than four decades of international meddling can now be fairly assessed. For the United States, the obsession with foreign affairs has come at the expense of dealing with our problems here at home. While we poured hundreds of billions of dollars into building up our military and sacrificed thousands of lives in distant wars, America's cities decayed, our educational system declined, and our budget deficits soared. For the rest of the world, our pattern of intervention has not brought peace and prosperity. On the contrary, in many regions U.S. involvement has bred resentment and hostility toward our country. Today, we have an opportunity to change course. We must strike a new balance between foreign policy and domestic issues — a balance that addresses the real concerns of Americans. We cannot afford to sacrifice our economic interests, especially our key trading relationships, by recklessly intervening around the world.

The United States should not take part in the international community's efforts to intervene in conflict areas. Rather, we must recognize that the peace and stability of the world is best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Of course, there will continue to be violations of human rights. But no international system is capable of eliminating these abuses. What we can no longer afford is the arrogance and self-righteousness that we have used to justify our country's history of international intervention in the 20th century. U.S. troops should be sent abroad only when American lives are at stake. The extent of our involvement in conflict resolution should be limited to the Western Hemisphere and should not go beyond diplomatic initiatives and economic sanctions. Let us recall that our country's founders sought to make the United States a model for the world, not its policeman.

### What guidelines should we follow?

- The United States should not become involved in conflicts outside of the Western Hemisphere and should substantially reduce its financial contribution to UN peacekeeping operations.
- The United States should not send troops abroad unless American lives are in danger.
- The United States should, at most, serve as a mediator or impose economic sanctions to resolve conflicts in the Western Hemisphere.
- The United States should uphold the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity as the foundation of the international system.
- The United States should not allow the internal conflicts of other countries to take priority over our foreign trade ties and diplomatic relations.


Permission granted for duplication

**How would Option 3 respond to the following conflicts?**

**Bosnia:** The United States should not take part in the UN operation in Bosnia and should withdraw its peacekeeping troops from Macedonia.

**The Kurds in northern Iraq:** The United States should end its presence in northern Iraq.

**Somalia:** The United States should declare that U.S. forces will not return to Somalia under any circumstances.

**Haiti:** The United States should maintain economic sanctions against the military regime in Haiti while promoting a compromise to end the conflict.

**Northern Ireland:** The United States should maintain strict neutrality regarding the conflict in Northern Ireland.

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## PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Keeping American troops out of the world's growing assortment of conflicts will improve the U.S. image abroad and remove a potential source of friction with many of our trading partners.

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2. Rejecting international intervention will permit us to cut our military spending and shift our resources to solving problems here at home.

3. Supporting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity will contribute to the stability of the international system.

## CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Cutting our ties to UN peacekeeping efforts will leave the international community incapable of coping with conflicts around the world and will fuel global instability.

2. Abandoning our international commitments will spark resentment among our closest allies and damage our international reputation.

3. Staying aloof from the UN will undermine the ability of the international community to deal with environmental pollution, AIDS, and other global problems.

4. Ignoring conflicts outside of the Western Hemisphere that threaten our vital interests will come back to haunt us in the form of broken trade relations, refugee crises, and even the spread of nuclear weapons.

5. Failure to play an active role in the international arena will give encouragement to the enemies of democratic values and human rights.

Option 4

# Stand Up for Principle

Since our country was founded, the world has turned to the United States for inspiration and leadership. We have led the way in developing a society based on democracy and liberty. We have stood up to aggression in two world wars and the Cold War. We have held up the banner of human rights and beaten back regional bullies. Our country's mission continues today. The United States has a greater role than ever to play in the world. As the only remaining superpower, we are in a position to advance the American values of democracy and human rights throughout the globe. That does not mean that we should become involved in every conflict, but the United States should take a stand to defend essential values. Where democratic movements are under attack, as in Haiti and China, the United States cannot turn a blind eye. We must speak out and, within reason, take action.

The United States should let the world know that we will take the lead in intervening abroad to nurture the values of democracy and human rights. Brutal dictators must be warned that the United States will not watch from the sidelines while they torture and murder their own citizens to crush popular democratic movements. Wherever possible, the United States should work within the framework of the UN. We cannot, however, allow our freedom of action to be tied down by the political divisions and bureaucratic red tape of the UN. When people are dying in the name of our most cherished values, we must exercise leadership, not get caught up in the endless debates of the UN. As the Persian Gulf War showed, the rest of the world will follow when the United States acts decisively.

### What guidelines should we follow?

- The United States should develop a special military force to intervene in conflicts abroad.
- The United States should define a set of principles that will govern U.S. intervention abroad.
- The United States should not allow U.S. troops to serve under UN command.
- The United States should seek UN support to resolve conflicts in which our country has decided to take action.
- The United States should cooperate most closely with countries like Canada, the Western European nations, and Japan that share our commitment to democracy and human rights.

**How would Option 4 respond to the following conflicts?**

**Bosnia:** The United States should take the lead in using military force to punish the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing and other extreme abuses of human rights.

**The Kurds in northern Iraq:** The United States should honor our commitment to protect the Kurds of northern Iraq as long as necessary.

**Somalia:** The United States should encourage Somali leaders to resolve their differences among themselves without foreign involvement.

**Haiti:** The United States should send troops to depose the military regime and restore the democratic government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power.

**Northern Ireland:** The United States should promote a compromise solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

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## PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Standing up for democratic values and human rights will increase respect for the United States worldwide and will enable us to steer the other countries of the UN to ultimately accept our position.

2. Acting decisively on our own will enable the United States to quickly stop cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity.

&

3. Taking a strong stand against the enemies of democracy and human rights will strike directly against the aggressive dictatorships that are responsible for most of the world's conflicts.

## CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. By launching a moral crusade, Americans will often find themselves fighting and dying alone in remote areas of the world that do not affect our vital interests.

2. Taking the lead in resolving the world's conflicts will force us to maintain a huge military at a time when we are struggling to hold down government spending.

3. Trying to uphold lofty principles of democracy and human rights will bring us into conflict with China and other powerful nations.

4. Striking out on our own will undermine the UN consensus on international intervention that has gradually emerged over the past few years.

5. Taking a threatening stance against non-democratic governments will harm our ability to communicate with the countries most likely to be involved in conflicts.

## Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan

**Homework:** Before beginning the unit, students should read Part I of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part I."

*DAY ONE*

**The challenges of international intervention**

*Objective:* This activity will introduce students to the key concepts related to international intervention.

1. After reviewing "Study Guide — Part I," distribute "Resolving Conflict: Two Examples for Consideration." One half of the class should answer the questions under Example A while the other half responds to Example B. Suggest that students work in pairs. After students have answered the questions, call on them to share their responses with the class.

2. Explain that the two examples force students to approach the principles of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination, and minority rights from contrasting perspectives. For instance, in which example is a challenge to the notion of state sovereignty likely to be most explosive? How does the principle of self-determination influence the two scenarios? Ask students to compare the means of conflict resolution they recommended. Which example prompted the more forceful responses? What factors shaped student opinions? Call on students to explain the potential risks of their recommendations.

**Homework:** Students should read Part II of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part II."

*DAY TWO*

**Considering four historical case studies**

*Objective:* This activity will draw attention to the factors that shaped the international community's role in intervention and conflict resolution during the Cold War.

1. Divide the class into four groups and assign each group one of the four historical case studies reviewed in Part II of the background reading. Instruct each group to develop a collective response to the three questions in "Study Guide — Part II" for its assigned conflict. After the groups have completed the questions, call on a group spokesperson to share the responses with the class.

2. Ask students to assess the importance of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination, and minority rights in each of the conflicts. For example, how did the issues of territorial integrity and minority rights apply to the conflict in Cyprus? Stress the impact of the Cold War on the response of the international community in each of the conflicts. Why did the UN extensively involve itself in the Congo and yet overlook the violence in East Timor? How did the end of the Cold War facilitate progress on dismantling *apartheid* in South Africa? Finally, call on students to consider the differences between the response of the international community and the U.S. position in the four conflicts under consideration. How have U.S. interests and values differed from those of the international community as a whole?

**Homework:** Students should read Part III of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part III."

*DAY THREE*

**The options before the National Security Council: organization and preparation**

*Objective:* This two-day simulation will give students a deeper understanding of the competing values and assumptions that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward intervening abroad in civil conflicts.

1. Inform students that they will participate in a simulation using the options and the background reading.

Form four groups of three to four students. Assign an option to each group. The remainder of the class will serve as members of the National Security Council (NSC). (In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as NSC members. In larger classes, additional roles — such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist — may be assigned to students.)

2. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" to the four option groups and "The U.S. Role in International Intervention" to the NSC members. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to the NSC. Explain that the option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role. Emphasize that the group spokespersons are expected to both summarize the overarching philosophy of their assigned options and explain how their options would respond to each of the five current case studies. (As an extra challenge, ask the groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options. In advanced classes, do not give the option groups the second page of the options.)

3. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the NSC should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four (see "The U.S. Role in International Intervention"). (As an extra challenge, invite NSC members to assume the role of a historical figure, such as Woodrow Wilson or Franklin Roosevelt.) Remind NSC members that they are expected to turn in their cross-examination questions at the end of the simulation.

**Homework:** Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

*DAY FOUR*

**The options before the National Security Council: debate and discussion**

1. Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for members of the NSC. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the NSC members. Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the option groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly. Pay special attention to how the option groups respond to the five current case studies. For example, explain that Britain's status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council is the driving force behind Option 1's position on Northern Ireland. In Option 2, concern about a potential influx of refugees dominates policy toward Haiti. Under Option 4, the United States would take stronger measures in Bosnia than in Somalia because the threat of ethnic cleansing, and possibly genocide, takes precedence over other forms of human suffering.

2. Following the presentations, invite members of the NSC to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each NSC member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination after the presentation of each option.)

3. Instruct members of the NSC to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

**Homework:** Students should read each of the four options, then moving beyond these options they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" and complete "Your Option Five."

*DAY FIVE*

**Responding to a crisis**

*Objective:* This activity will call on students to apply their values and beliefs to a hypothetical crisis.

1. Call on members of the NSC to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? To what extent did the options address the concerns of Americans?

2. Invite three or four students to share their responses to the first two questions of "Your Option Five." Ask them to identify the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts" that they most strongly support. Explain that students should be able to apply the options they have developed to critical issues in the future. Read the following hypothetical scenario (or a scenario more closely connected with current events), noting that it is intended to represent a typical crisis confronting U.S. leaders:

> *The Iraqi army has launched a large-scale invasion of northern Iraq. The assault is apparently designed to overrun the safe haven established for Iraqi Kurds by international forces after Iraq's defeat in the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Reports from northern Iraq indicate that Saddam Hussein has directed his elite armored units at the main Kurdish population centers of the region. The Iraqi air force has not been involved in the operation. Kurdish forces have succeeded in blocking the initial Iraqi advance, although military experts doubt that the Kurds will be able to resist the invasion for more than a few days. Meanwhile, thousands of Kurdish refugees are reportedly heading toward Iraq's borders with Turkey and Iran. U.S. planes have repeatedly flown over the battlefield but have not intervened in the fighting. President Clinton has called a meeting of the National Security Council to consider the U.S. response.*

3. Call on the students who earlier presented their answers to "Your Option Five" to respond to the hypothetical scenario from the perspective of their options. Invite other students to assess the responses. Are they consistent with the principles that the students articulated earlier? Which interests and values are of the greatest concern to students? Are there other responses to the hypothetical scenario? Encourage students to challenge the views of their classmates.

4. *Extra Challenge:* As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress or President Clinton expressing their views on U.S. policy toward intervention abroad. The first part of the letter should summarize the ideas expressed in the first two questions of "Your Option Five." In the second part, students should offer their recommendations for U.S. policy on the most pressing current conflicts.

Encourage students to explore the local dimension of the debate on U.S. intervention abroad. For example, students could be asked to contact organizations that have a deeply rooted interest in foreign policy issues. Groups such as the American Friends Service Committee, the American Legion, Amnesty International, the Chamber of Commerce, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the World Affairs Council have chapters throughout the country. Ethnic organizations and friendship societies are also active in the foreign policy arena.

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## Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

*DAY ONE:* See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

*DAY TWO:* Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their conception of the U.S. role in the world? How does each option view the U.S. relationship with the UN? Ask students to respond to the five current case studies through the perspective of their assigned options. Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine they are participating in a meeting of the National Security Council. Which beliefs should guide the direction of U.S. policy toward intervention abroad? Which options best accommodate the changes in international affairs since the end of the Cold War? Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five" as homework.

*DAY THREE:* See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Name: _____

## Study Guide — Part I

*The International Community's Changing Role in Keeping the Peace*

1. Why have the UN's expenses for keeping the peace risen so sharply since the late 1980s?

2. How did the Thirty Years War and the Napoleonic Wars change international attitudes toward conflict?

3. Why did President Wilson's vision for the international community crumble after World War I?

4. What steps did the founders of the United Nations take to avoid the problems of the League of Nations?

5. Complete the following statements:

   a. Governments have relied on the principle of *state sovereignty* to protect them from...

   b. The international community has strongly defended the principle of *territorial integrity* since World War II in order to...

   c. The international community has generally viewed *self-determination* movements as a threat to peace and stability because they...

   d. Granting *minority rights* may help to avoid conflict by giving an ethnic minority...

6. Give examples of the three main approaches to conflict resolution.

## Resolving Conflict: Two Examples for Consideration

### Example A

Country A is a former communist nation of 40 million people in an unstable region. Its economy is based largely on the export of oil and other natural resources. There are two main ethnic groups in Country A: the X people make up 65 percent of the population and the Y people make up 35 percent of the population. Since Country A's establishment as an independent nation, the X people have dominated the government and the military. In recent years, members of the Y minority have been increasingly removed from government jobs. Their language is no longer taught in the country's public schools. Last year, the Y people organized a national movement to campaign for better treatment. The X-controlled government reacted by using force to break up Y public gatherings and arresting leaders of the Y movement. The latest reports indicate that thousands of Ys have been killed by the army. Meanwhile, the government has closed Country A off to foreign journalists and has barred human rights organizations from entering the country.

*1. How would supporters of the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity view the conflict in Country A?*

*2. How would supporters of the principles of self-determination or minority rights view the conflict in Country A?*

*3. In your opinion, what means of conflict resolution, if any, should be applied in Country A?*

### Example B

Country B is nation of 15 million people in one of the poorest regions of the world. For nearly a century, Country B was a European-controlled colony. It gained independence after World War II. Country B is made up of many ethnic groups and clans. Under colonialism, the local population was given little opportunity to manage its own affairs. Since achieving independence, Country B has suffered from political instability. Leaders of the country's largest clans have fought to control the central government. In the past two years, the situation in Country B has seriously worsened. The Z clan has increasingly relied on force to impose its authority over the entire country. Human rights groups report that hundreds have been killed in political violence. In addition, the breakdown in law and order has put as many as 2 million people in danger of starvation. Already, 500,000 refugees from Country B have crossed into neighboring countries.

*1. How would supporters of the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity view the conflict in Country B?*

*2. How would supporters of the principles of self-determination or minority rights view the conflict in Country B?*

*3. In your opinion, what means of conflict resolution, if any, should be applied in Country B?*

Name: _____

## Study Guide — Part II

*Four Historical Case Studies*

Consider the following three questions for each of the four historical case studies:

1. *How was the conflict connected to European imperialism?*
2. *How did the Cold War influence the international response to the conflict?*
3. *What is the main lesson to be drawn from the international community's involvement in the conflict?*

**The Congo**

1.

2.

3.

**Cyprus**

1.

2.

3.

**South Africa**

1.

2.

3.

**East Timor**

1.

2.

3.



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## Study Guide — Part III
*Five Current Case Studies*

Consider the following two questions for each of the five current case studies:

1. *Why has this conflict led to violence?*
2. *How is the United States involved in this conflict?*

**The Kurds of northern Iraq**

1.

2.

**Bosnia**

1.

2.

**Somalia**

1.

2.

**Haiti**

1.

2.

**Northern Ireland**

1.

2.



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## Presenting Your Option

### Day One — Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the National Security Council (NSC). Your assignment is to persuade the NSC that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy. You will be evaluated on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the option of your group to the NSC in a three-to-five minute presentation. You should summarize the philosophy of your option and explain how your option would address each of the five current crises reviewed in Part III of the background reading. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your option and review the background reading to build a strong case for your option.

2. *United Nations Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson on how your option would improve the position of the United States with respect to the UN. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading to build the strongest possible case for your option.

3. *Military Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson on how your option best meets the military needs of the United States. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading to build the strongest possible case for your option.

4. *Domestic Policy Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson on how your option would address our country's problems here at home. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading to build the strongest possible case for your option.

### Day Two — Making Your Case

On Day Two, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the National Security Council. Notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations, you should try to identify the weak points of the competing options. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the NSC will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.



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## The U.S. Role in International Intervention

### National Security Council

**Your Role**

You are a member of the National Security Council (NSC), a body within the executive branch of the U.S. government that advises the president on foreign policy. The NSC includes the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, and other senior advisors. As you know, the United States is increasingly being called upon to intervene abroad. Decisions about if and how the United States should be involved in international crises often have to be made quickly. The president relies on the NSC to provide him with guidance on these urgent matters. In the next couple of days, you will have an opportunity to think about the broader goals of U.S. policy. You will be introduced to four distinct approaches to international intervention.

**Your Assignment**

You must decide which group presents its position most effectively. While the option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare at least one challenging question regarding each of the options. For example, a good question for Option 1 would be:

> *Wouldn't American soldiers assigned to a UN peacekeeping force in Option 1 be more likely to serve under incompetent foreign commanders and, as a result, be exposed to unnecessary risks?*

In addition, you should prepare at least one question regarding each of the five current case studies featured in Part III of the background reading. Your questions should focus on the principles and interests at stake in each of the five case studies. For example, a good question about the Kurds in northern Iraq would be:

> *According to your option, is there a danger that the creation of a safe haven for the Kurds in northern Iraq will encourage minority groups elsewhere in the world to take up arms against government authority?*

On Day Two, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow National Security Council members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.



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Name: _____

## Evaluation Form

### National Security Council

**Part I**

| What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option? | What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option? |
|---|---|
| *Option 1* | *Option 1* |
| *Option 2* | *Option 2* |
| *Option 3* | *Option 3* |
| *Option 4* | *Option 4* |

**Part II**

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.



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## Focusing Your Thoughts

*Instructions:* You have had an opportunity to consider four options on U.S. policy toward international intervention. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages.

### Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Keep in mind that the beliefs you support most strongly should guide your choice. Rank the options, with "1" being the best option for the United States to follow.

____ **Option 1: Cooperate to Strengthen the UN**

____ **Option 2: Protect Our Interests**

____ **Option 3: Keep Our Distance**

____ **Option 4: Stand Up for Principle**

### Beliefs

Considering the statements below will help you answer the first three questions of "Your Option Five." Rate each of them according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

____ Using our military power and economic influence around the world creates more enemies than friends.

____ In today's interconnected world, many serious problems can be addressed only through international cooperation.

____ The United States has a responsibility to meet its domestic needs first.

____ The world would be a better place if more countries were to adopt our country's democratic values.

____ The United States has the right and the responsibility to exert global leadership.

____ The United States must rely on its own strength to protect its interests abroad.

____ The international community has an obligation to intervene in countries that do not respect accepted standards on human rights.

____ Defining a set of principles to guide U.S. foreign policy will undercut the effectiveness of U.S. leaders to respond to crises in the international arena.

### Creating Your Own Option

Your assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For instance, we should not commit ourselves to participating in a permanent UN peacekeeping force and yet expect to pursue our own policies regarding intervention abroad. The "Your Option Five" worksheet will help you organize your ideas.

Name: _____

## Your Option Five

1. What should be the most important principles guiding U.S. policy toward conflicts abroad?

2. What should the relationship be between the United States and the UN in the area of international intervention?

3. How would you respond to the five conflicts featured in Part III of the background reading?

   *The Kurds of northern Iraq:*

   *Bosnia:*

   *Somalia:*

   *Haiti:*

   *Northern Ireland:*

4. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?

   A.

   B.

5. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?

   A.

   B.



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## Supplementary Documents for the Teacher

# The Charter of the United Nations

***Submitted June 26, 1945***

*We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,*

*and for these ends*

*to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.*

*Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.*

### Chapter I
### Purposes and Principles

***Article 1***

*The purposes of the United Nations are:*

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

***Article 2***

*The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article I, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.*

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nation every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventative or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but

this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

## Chapter VI
## Pacific Settlement of Disputes

*(Below are the two chapters of the UN Charter that directly address the UN's role in resolving international conflicts and countering aggression.)*

*Article 33*

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means.

*Article 34*

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

*Article 35*

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute , or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

*Article 36*

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions in the Statute of the Court.

*Article 37*

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

*Article 38*

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

## Chapter VII
## Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

*Article 39*

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

*Article 40*

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall

be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or positions of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

*Article 41*

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

*Article 42*

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

*Article 43*

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and faculties, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

*Article 44*

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participant in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Members armed forces.

*Article 45*

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their designed action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

*Article 46*

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

*Article 47*

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

*Article 48*

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

*Article 49*

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

*Article 50*

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising form the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

*Article 51*

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## Helsinki Decisions

*(Below are two chapters from the Helsinki Summit Declaration — the most comprehensive effort by an international organization to address national minority problems. The document was issued by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] following its July 1992 summit meeting in Helsinki, Finland. The 53-nation CSCE was created in 1975 to promote peace and stability in Europe.)*

II

**CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities**

1. The participating States decide to establish a High Commissioner on National Minorities.

**Mandate**

2. The High Commissioner will act under the aegis of the CSO (Committee of Senior Officials) and will thus be an instrument of conflict prevention at the earliest possible stage.

3. The High Commissioner will provide "early warning" and, as appropriate, "early action" at the earliest possible stage in regard to tensions involving national minority issues which have not yet developed beyond an early warning stage, but, in the judgement of the High Commissioner, have the potential to develop into a conflict within the CSCE area, affecting peace, stability or relations between participating States, requiring the attention of and action by the Council or the CSO.

4. Within the mandate, based on CSCE principles and commitments, the High Commissioner will work in confidence and will act independently of all parties directly involved in the tensions.

5a. The High Commissioner will consider national minority issues occurring in the State of which the High Commissioner is a national or a resident, or involving a national minority to which the High Commissioner belongs, only if all parties directly involved agree, including the State concerned.

5b. The High Commissioner will not consider national minority issues in situations involving organized acts of terrorism.

5c. Nor will the High Commissioner consider violations of CSCE commitments with regard to an individual person belonging to a national minority.

6. In considering a situation, the High

Commissioner will take fully into account the availability of democratic means and international instruments to respond to it, and their utilization by the parties involved.

7. When a particular national minority issue has been brought to the attention of the CSO, the involvement of the High Commissioner will require a request and a specific mandate from the CSO.

**Profile, Appointment, Support**

8. The High Commissioner will be an eminent international personality with long-standing relevant experience from whom an impartial performance of the function may be expected.

9. The High Commissioner will be appointed by the Council by consensus upon the recommendation of the CSO for a period of three years, which may be extended for one further term of three years only.

10. The High Commissioner will draw upon the facilities of the ODIHR (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights) in Warsaw, and in particular upon the information relevant to all aspects of national minority questions available at the ODIHR

**Early Warning**

11. The High Commissioner will:

11a. collect and receive information regarding national minority issues from sources described below (see Supplement paragraphs 23-25);

11b. assess at the earliest possible stage the role of the parties directly concerned, the nature of the tensions and recent developments therein and, where possible, the potential consequences for peace and stability within the CSCE area;

11c. to this end, be able to pay a visit, in accordance with paragraph 17 and Supplement paragraphs 27-30, to any participating State and communicate in person, subject to the provision paragraph 25, with parties directly concerned to obtain first-hand information about the situation of national minorities.

12. The High Commissioner may during a visit to a participating State, while obtaining first-hand information from all parties directly involved, discuss the questions with the parties, and where appropriate promote dialogue, confidence and co-operation between them.

**Provision of Early Warning**

13. If, on the basis of exchanges of communications and contacts with relevant parties, the High Commissioner concludes that there is a *prima facie* risk of potential conflict (as set out in paragraph 3) he/she may issue an early warning, which will be communicated promptly by the Chairman-in-Office to the CSO.

14. The Chairman-in-Office will include this early warning in the agenda for the next meeting of the CSO. If a State believes that such an early warning merits prompt consultation, it may initiated the procedure set out in Annex 2 of the Summary of Conclusions of the Berlin Meeting Council ("Emergency Mechanism").

15. The High Commissioner will explain to the CSO the reasons for issuing the early warnings.

**Early Action**

16. The High Commissioner may recommend that he/she be authorized to enter into further contact and closer consultations with the parties concerned with a view to possible solutions, according to a mandate to be decided by the CSO. The CSO may decide accordingly.

**Accountability**

17. The High Commissioner will consult the Chairman-in-Office prior to a departure for a participating State to address a tension involving national minorities. The Chairman-in-Office will consult, in confidence, the participating State(s) concerned and may consult more widely.

18. After a visit to a participating State, the High Commissioner will provide strictly confidential reports to the Chairman-in-Office on the findings and progress of the High Commissioner's involvement in a particular question.

19. After termination of the involvement of the High Commissioner in a particular issue, the High Commissioner will report to the Chairmen-in-Office on the findings, results and conclusions. Within a period of one month, the Chairman-in-Office will consult, in confidence, on the findings, results and conclusions the participating State(s) concerned and may consult more widely. Thereafter the report, together with possible comments, will be transmitted to the CSO.

20. Should the High Commissioner conclude that the situation is escalating into a conflict, or if the High Commissioner deems that the scope for action by the High Commissioner is exhausted, the High Commissioner shall, through the Chairman-in-Office, so inform the CSO.

21. Should the CSO become involved in a particular issue, the High Commissioner will provide information and, on request, advice to the CSO, or to any other institution or organization which the CSO may invite, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter III of this document, to take action with regard to the tensions or conflict.

22. The High Commissioner, if so requested by the CSO and with due regard to the requirement of confidentiality in his/her mandate, will provide information about his/her activities at CSCE implementation meetings on Human Dimension issues.

III

**Early Warning, Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management (including fact-find and rapporteur missions and CSCE peacekeeping), and Peaceful Settlement of Disputes**

1. The participating States have decided to strengthen the structure of their political consultations and increase their frequency, and to provide for more flexible and active dialogue and better early warning and dispute settlement, resulting in a more effective role in conflict prevention and resolution, complemented, when necessary, by peacekeeping operations.

2. The participating States have decided to enhance their capability to identify the root causes of tensions through a more rigorous review of implementation to be conducted both through the ODIHR and the CPC (Conflict Prevention Center). They have also decided to improve their capability to gather information and to monitor developments, as well as their ability to implement decisions about further steps. They have recommitted themselves to co-operating constructively in using the full range of possibilities within the CSCE to prevent and resolve conflicts.

**Early Warning and Preventative Action**

3. In order to have early warning of situations within the CSCE area which have the potential to develop into crises, including armed conflicts, the participating States will make intensive use of regular, in-depth political consultations, within the structures and institutions of the CSCE, including implementation review meetings.

4. The CSO, acting as the Council's agent, will have primary responsibility in this regard.

5. Without prejudice to the right of any State to raise any issue, the attention of the CSO may be drawn to such situations through the Chairman-in-Office, *inter alia*, by:

—any State directly involved in a dispute;

—a group of 11 States not directly involved in the dispute;

—the High Commissioner on National Minorities in situations he/she deems escalating into a conflict or exceeding the scope of his action;

—the Consultative Committee of the CPC in accordance with paragraph 33 of the Prague Document;

—the Consultative Committee of the CPC following the use of the mechanism for consultations and co-operation as regards unusual military activities;

—the use of the Human Dimension Mechanism or the Valletta Principles for Dispute Settlement and Provisions for a CSCE Procedure for Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.

**Political Management of Crisis**

6. The CSO will promote steps by the State or States concerned to avoid any action which could aggravate the situation and, if appropriate, recommend other procedures and mechanisms to resolve the dispute peacefully.

7. In order to facilitate its consideration of the situation, it may seek independent advice and counsel from relevant experts, institutions and international organizations.

8. If the CSO concludes that concerted CSCE action is required, it will determine the procedure to be employed in the light of the nature of the situation. It will have, acting on behalf of the Council, overall CSCE responsibility for managing the crisis with a view to its resolution. It may, *inter alia*, decide to set up a framework for a negotiated settlement, or to dispatch a rapporteur or fact-finding mission. The CSO may also initiate or promote the exercise of good offices, mediation or conciliation.

9. In this context, the CSI may delegate tasks to:

—the Chairman-in-Office, who may designate a personal representative to carry out certain tasks, as defined in paragraph 22 of Chapter I of this document;

—the Chairman-in-Office, assisted by the preceding and succeeding Chairman-in-Office operating together as a Troika, as defined in paragraph 15 of Chapter I of this document;

—an *ad hoc* steering group of participating States, as defined in paragraphs 16 to 21 of Chapter I of this document;

—the Consultative Committee of the CPC, or other CSCE institutions.

10. Once the CSO has determined the procedure to be applied, it will establish a precise mandate for action, including provisions for reporting back within an agreed period. Within the limits of that mandate, those to whom the CSO has delegated tasks under the preceding paragraph will retain the freedom to determine how to proceed, with whom to consult, and the nature of any recommendations to be made.

11. All participating States concerned in the situation will fully co-operate with the CSO and the agents it has designated.

**Instruments of Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management**

***Fact-Finding and Rapporteur Missions***

12. Fact-finding and rapporteur missions can be used as an instrument of conflict prevention and crisis management.

13. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 13 of the Moscow Document in respect of Human Dimension issues, and paragraph 29 of the Prague Document in respect of Unusual Military Activities, the Committee of Senior Officials of the Consultative Committee of the Conflict Prevention Center may decide, by consensus, to establish such missions. Such decisions will in every case contain a clear mandate.

14. The participating State(s) will co-operate fully with the mission on its territory in pursuance of the mandate and facilitate its work.

15. Reports of fact-finding and rapporteur missions will be submitted for discussion to the Committee of Senior Officials or the Consultative Committee of the Conflict Prevention Center as applicable. Such reports and any observations submitted by the State(s) visited will remain confidential until they are discussed. The reports will normally be made public. If, however, the mission or the participating State(s) visited request that they should be kept confidential, they will not be made public, unless otherwise decided by the participating States.

16. Except where provided on a voluntary basis, the expenses of fact-finding and rapporteur missions will be borne by all participating States in accordance with the scale of distribution.

***CSCE Peacekeeping***

17. Peacekeeping constitutes an important operational element of the overall capability of the CSCE for conflict prevention and crisis management intended to complement the political process of dispute resolution. CSCE peacekeeping activities may be undertaken in cases of conflict within or among participating States to help maintain peace and stability in support of an ongoing effort at a political solution.

18. A CSCE peacekeeping operation, according to its mandate, will involve civilian and/or military personnel, may range from small-scale to large-scale, and may assume a variety of forms including observer and monitor missions and larger deployments of forces. Peacekeeping activities could be used, *inter alia*, to supervise and help maintain cease-fires, to monitor troop withdrawals, to support the maintenance of law and order, to provide humanitarian and medical aid and to assist refugees.

19. CSCE peacekeeping will be undertaken with due regard to the representatives of the United Nations in this field and will at all times be carried out in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations. CSCE peacekeeping will take place in particular within the framework of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. The CSCE, in planning and carrying out peacekeeping operations, may draw upon the experience and expertise of the United Nations.

20. The Chairman-in-Office will keep the United Nations Security Council fully informed of the CSCE peacekeeping activities.

21. The Council, or the CSO acting as its agent, may conclude because of the specific character of an operation and its envisaged size that the matter should be referred by the participating States to the United Nations Security Council.

22. CSCE peacekeeping operations will not entail enforcement action.

23. Peacekeeping operations require the consent of the parties directly concerned.

24. Peacekeeping operations will be conducted impartially.

25. Peacekeeping operations cannot be considered a substitute for a negotiated settlement and therefore must be understood to be limited in time.

26. Requests to initiate peacekeeping operations by the CSCE may be addressed by one or more participating States to the CSO through the Chairman-in-Office.

27. The CSO may request the Consultative Committee of the CPC to consider which peacekeeping activities might be most appropriate to the situation and to submit its recommendations to the CSO for decision.

28. The CSO will exercise overall political control and guidance of a peacekeeping operation.

29. Decisions to initiate and dispatch peacekeeping operations will be taken by consensus by the Council or the CSO acting as its agent.

30. The Council/CSO will only take such decisions when all parties concerned have demonstrated their commitment to creating favorable conditions for the execution of the operation, *inter alia*, through a process of peaceful settlement and their willingness to co-operate. Before the decision to dispatch a mission is taken, the following conditions must be fulfilled:

—establishment of an effective and durable cease-fire;

—agreement on the necessary Memoranda of Understanding with the parties concerned, and

—provision of guarantees for the safety at all times of personnel involved.

31. Missions will be dispatched as soon as possible following such a decision.

32. Decisions by the CSO to establish a peacekeeping operation will include the adoption of a clear and precise mandate.

33. When establishing a mission, the CSO will take into account the financial implications involved.

34. The terms of reference of a peacekeeping operation will define practical modalities and determine requirements for personnel and other resources. Preparation of the terms of reference will be carried out, as appropriate, by the Consultative Committee of the CPC. They will be adopted by the CSO unless it has agreed otherwise.

35. All participating States are eligible to take part in CSCE peacekeeping operations. Appropriate consultations by the Chairman-in-Office will take place. Participating States will be invited by the Chairman-in-Office of the CSO to contribute, on an individual basis, to an operation case by case.

36. Personnel will be provided by individual participating States.

37. Parties concerned will be consulted about which participating States will contribute personnel to the operation.

38. The Council/CSO will regularly review an operation and make any necessary decision related to its conduct, taking into account political developments and developments in the field.

***Chain of Command***

39. The Council/CSO will assign overall operational guidance of an operation to the Chairman-in-Office assisted by an *ad hoc* group established at the CPC. The Chairman-in-Office will chair the *ad hoc* group and, in this capacity, be accountable to it, and will receive, on behalf of the *ad hoc* group, the reports of the Head of Mission. The *ad hoc* group will, as a rule, consist of representatives of the preceding and succeeding Chairmen-in-Office, of the participating States providing personnel for the mission and of participating States making other significant practical contributions to the operation.

40. The *ad hoc* group will provide overall operational support for the mission and will monitor it. It will act as a 24-hour point of contact for the Head of Mission and assist the Head of Mission as required.

41. Continuous liaison between the operation and all participating States will be ensured by the Consultative Committee of the CPC through the regular provision of information to it by the *ad hoc* group.

42. In all cases where the CSO assigns tasks related to peacekeeping to the CPC, the Consultative Committee of the CPC will be responsible to the CSO for the execution of those tasks.

***Head of Mission***

43. The Chairman-in-Office, after appropriate consultations, will nominate a Head of Mission for endorsement by the CSO.

44. The Head of Mission will be responsible to the Chairman-in-Office. The Head of Mission will consult and be guided by the *ad hoc* group.

45. The head of Mission will have operational command in the mission area.

*Financial Arrangements*

46. Peacekeeping operations require a sound financial basis and must be planned with maximum efficiency and cost-effectiveness on the basis of clear cost projections.

47. Costs of CSCE peacekeeping activities will be borne by all CSCE participating States. At the beginning of each calendar year, the CSO will establish a reasonable ceiling for the cost of peacekeeping operations to which the CSCE scale of distribution will be applied. Beyond that limit, other special arrangements will be negotiated and agreed to by consensus. Full and timely payments will be required.

48. Additional contributions could be provided by participating States on a voluntary basis.

49. Financial accountability will be ensured by the Chairman-in-Office through regular reports to the participating States.

50. A start-up fund will, if appropriate, be established to cover the initial costs of an operation. Contributions by a participating State to the start-up fund will be deducted from that State's regular assessed share of the costs relating to the operation.

51. The Consultative Committee of the CPC is charged to submit to the CSO by the end of 1992 a recommendation with regard to financial modalities of CSCE peacekeeping operations, specifying, *inter alia*, the costs to be shared among participating States in accordance with the preceding paragraphs.

*Co-operation with regional and transatlantic organizations*

52. The CSCE may benefit from the resources and possible experience and expertise of existing organizations such as the EC (European Community), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the WEU (Western European Union), and could therefore request them to make their resources available in order to support it in carrying out peacekeeping activities. Other institutions and mechanisms, including the peacekeeping mechanism of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), may also be asked by the CSCE to support peacekeeping in the CSCE region.

53. Decisions by the CSCE to seek the support of any such organization will be made on a case-by-case basis, having allowed for prior consultations with the participating States which belong to the organization concerned. The CSCE participating States will also take into account the consultations by the Chairman-in-Office regarding prospective participation in the mission, in light of the envisaged size of the operation and the specific character of the conflict.

54. Contributions by such organizations will not affect the procedures for the establishment, conduct and command of CSCE peacekeeping operations as set out in paragraphs 17 to 51 above, nor does the involvement of any such organization affect the principle that all participating States are eligible to take part in CSCE peacekeeping operations as set out in paragraph 35 above.

55. Organizations contributing to CSCE peacekeeping would carry out defined and mutually agreed tasks in connection with the practical implementation of a CSCE mandate.

56. The *ad hoc* group will establish and maintain effective communication with any organization whose resources may be drawn upon in connection with CSCE peacekeeping activities.

**Peaceful Settlement of Disputes**

57. The participating States consider their commitment to settle disputes among themselves by peaceful means to form a cornerstone of the CSCE process. In their view, the peaceful settlement of disputes is an essential component of the CSCE's overall ability to manage change effectively and to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

58. The participating States welcome the work done to this end by the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting. In particular they were encouraged by significant progress made on issues relating to creating a conciliation and arbitration court within the CSCE, enhancing the Valletta mechanism and establishing a CSCE procedure for conciliation including directed conciliation, for which proposals were submitted.

59. In the light of the important subject matter and of the discussions held here in Helsinki, they have decided to continue to develop a comprehensive set of measures to expand the options available within the CSCE to assist States to resolve their disputes peacefully.

## Suggested Readings


Allison, Graham and Treverton, Gregory F., eds. *Rethinking America's Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992). 479 pages.

Brown, Michael E., ed. *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993). 276 pages.

Claude Jr., Inis L. *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (New York: Random House, 1964). 458 pages.

Gottlieb, Gidon. *Nation against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993). 148 pages.

Halperin, Morton H. and Scheffer, David J., eds. *Self-Determination in the New World Order* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1992). 178 pages.

Melanson, Richard A. *Reconstructing Consensus: American Foreign Policy since the Vietnam War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). 248 pages.

Minear, Larry and Weiss, Thomas G. *Humanitarian Action in Times of War: A Handbook for Practitioners* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993). 107 pages.

Moynihan, Daniel P. *Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). 221 pages.

Norton, Augustus R. and Weiss, Thomas G. *UN Peacekeepers: Soldiers with a Difference* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1990). 64 pages.

Seymore II, Bruce, ed. *The ACCESS Guide to Ethnic Conflicts in Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: ACCESS, 1994). 171 pages.

Weiss, Thomas G., ed. *Collective Security in a Changing World* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993). 232 pages.

Young, Crawford, ed. *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993). 305 pages.



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- After the Cold War: The U.S. Role in Europe's Transition (October 1993, 103 pages)
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- U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (Revised January 1994, 46 pages)
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- Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (October 1992, 58 pages)

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